University Addresses

C. Rajagopalachari

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UNIVERSITY ADDRESSES

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BY

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

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PREFACE

These speeches do not represent anything thought out at one point of time but were delivered on various occasions spread over a period of twelve years.

We have done very well as a nation but there are many ills we still suffer from. All these can be traced to the imperfect methods adopted in educating our boys and girls. Our boys are taken away too soon from things and realities and overwhelmed with symbols; and even in the matter of symbols, we imprison our boys in the world of written symbols far too much and at far too early a stage of life. Among all the imperfections of our educational system, this premature dealing with words and written symbols instead of with the realities they represent is in my opinion responsible for most of the defects that appear later.

The formulation of a sound system of education which can produce the intelligentsia and the leadership necessary for the management of the affairs of an independent State such as ours is further complicated by reason of the number of different languages spoken in the country. Again, any attempt to guide sentiments and feelings in the right direction, which is one of the most essential parts of any scheme of education, is rendered difficult by the differences in religious practices and traditions. To evolve a system of education acceptable to all is therefore no easy task. Yet, if we are to progress, we must face the problem. To achieve any results we require clear thinking free from prejudices of any kind.

It would on the whole be true to say that, apart from exceptional cases, it is our universities that have provided trained human material for leadership in all fields of service. This must continue to be the case in the future as well. But we should thoroughly examine the work of the universities and do what is necessary to enable them better to fulfil this function in the immediate future. We should not destroy what has been built, unless we know also how to replace without loss of time what we break up. This does not mean, however, that we may stagnate, ignoring the defects.

C. R.

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I. ANDHRA*

It is difficult to speak after your extraordinary Vice-Chancellor. I wish *I* had been Vice-Chancellor, and *he* had been called upon to address you on this occasion. I had intended to spin out a few words on the spot, but better counsels prevailed on the way here and I thought it wise to prepare beforehand to face such a Vice-Chancellor as Dr. Reddi.

I feel strongly tempted to deal, in their order of urgency, with the matters that your Vice-Chancellor has chosen to place before you on this occasion; but I think it is not right that I should deal with these matters in my capacity either as Premier or as Finance Minister at a purely academic function like this. But it may not be improper or superfluous for me to say that I shall see that the Government deals with all these problems with the utmost consideration.

The Vice-Chancellor referred to the possibility of sunstroke; but all the time I was looking at the sea here and I thought this is a better place to receive one's degrees in than any building that even your Vice-Chancellor's engineer may be able to design. Then, when I caught a glimpse of that beautiful tree yonder in the compound, with that more beautiful gathering under it, I thought that it was a more pleasing spectacle than any we might

*Delivered at the Convocation of Andhra University on 2nd December 1937 at Waltair.

have seen at the Senate House on the Madras Beach. Again, when the Vice-Chancellor referred to forests, I thought I might retort jokingly that if the ancient Rishis went away to the forests, it is somewhat a reversal of the natural order for modern Rishis to demand that the forests come to them.

The Vice-Chancellor particularly asked me to take this opportunity to express my views on education; I feel it would be inappropriate for me to venture on this subject, both because of my limitations and of the nature of the occasion; but perhaps I may express my feeling that in a poor country where so many urgent and fundamental physical wants yet remain unsatisfied we should not allow overlapping or duplication, but specialize in different branches of learning at different Universities. That would be real economy, and that would, at the same time, prevent isolation. Different centres should specialize in different language media as well as in different subjects. That is the way of supplementing without overlapping and of maintaining unity in diversity. We need not copy the paraphernalia of the modern West in every detail. Of course, modern knowledge, especially in the departments of science, involves much necessary expenditure. The paraphernalia, however, should not be mistaken for the essentials. We are in a state of flux in many spheres of life. We do not know how things will shape themselves finally. Building programmes may become matters of regret later on. We have already had bitter experience of this. A new School of Engineering should and will arise to plan and build to suit our culture, climate, needs and resources. The halls and the furniture should be

made to suit our boys and girls, instead of the latter being shaped to suit the former. Look at the old temples, and see how much space is going to waste in them.

My principal duty, according to your academic tradition, is to make an exhortation to the graduates, reminding them of their duties in life. I am grateful to the Chancellor for conferring on me this privilege and honour. I do not think there is any convocation address to surpass in brevity or force or aptness the very ancient address to 'post-graduates' preserved for us in one of the Upanishads.* The teacher, before sending out his pupil after completion of his studies, addresses him thus: "Speak the truth, act according to Dharma, be a good family man and citizen. Continue your studies, but do not neglect your worldly duties. Remember, you should always continue studying as well as teaching. May your mother and father and Acharya be gods unto you. Follow us (the teachers) in all the good you see in us, never in what is evil. You will come across others who are worthier than your teachers, and these men you should treat with all respect. Whatever you give, give with faith and liberality and humanity and fear and love. If you have any doubts on any occasion as to how you should behave, do as learned and good men do; avoid the things they avoid." This is the teaching and the substance of all the Upanishads. This is the teaching and the substance of all the scriptures, and this is an ordinance binding on you. May you be enabled to follow this!

* Taittiriyopanishad.

If the graduates who go out every year from our Universities follow these precepts, there can be no reform that cannot be accomplished. We can really be rich and happy straightway. Just as in nature there is lodged in every fruit a seed for its own reproduction, your education should bear the seed of its own propagation. Your duty is to maintain the river of knowledge among the people. You should continually strive to adapt the mother-tongue to the new knowledge that you have acquired. It is only then that it can flow freely without impediment and irrigate the parched fields. You should not wait for new text-books to be written by others, but yourself convey your knowledge in the mother-tongue boldly and freely, so that it becomes easy for you and for others as well to write such books.

Whether you follow an independent profession so called or become a professional servant of the State, you should try to infuse into the service you render a deep love of the motherland and the ideals of service hitherto associated with only non-official life. We should develop the ideal of patriotic service and incorruptible honesty among all servants of the State from top to bottom. Just as a Hindu boy will look with horror on touching or eating a polluted thing, however attractive it may be, so should you develop a horror of dishonesty and corruption, in whatever walk of life you may be placed. The greatest burden of the poor man in India today is that, added to his own ignorance and indebtedness, he has to bear the burden of corruption among people all around him, some of whom are also armed with the power to inflict injustice upon him. I want each one of you, here and now, to take a

vow in your hearts against this. The greatest help to the fulfilment of this vow is a simple life and the reduction of wants. My best wishes to you all graduates, young men and women. My respectful congratulations to the eminent recipients of honorary degrees. Truly in their case can it be said that the degrees themselves acquire as much honour and lustre as the recipients from the degrees.

II. LUCKNOW *

It is unnecessary to say that I felt greatly honoured when I received your invitation to deliver the customary address at this Convocation. I was trapped by the flattering invitation, but I reap the consequences now. Hundreds of convocation addresses have been delivered in the past, and it is difficult to say anything interesting by way of novelty. Even the most important advice that could be tendered to young graduates has become too stale to make any useful impression. Every one of you must have read excellent things in the course of your studies before graduation. If such reading has not made any impression on you, it would be in vain for me to attempt to achieve anything by a few minutes' talk on this occasion. Most of the young people assembled here must naturally be feeling a sense of achievement and elation. They cannot be in a mood to be instructed. This is no disparagement, but a recognition of the joy that young graduates feel at the successful completion of their labours.

It is usual for the eminent men who are invited to deliver convocation addresses to devote the occasion to some topic of educational interest. But amateurs like me expatiating on questions of education are generally regarded as a nuisance. If I say that our whole scheme of

* Delivered at the Convocation of Lucknow University on 13th December 1941.

education is wrong because it is haphazard and not planned qualitatively and quantitatively to meet national requirements, I shall be regarded as making a cheap and amateurish pronouncement. Even though the professors assembled here may extend to me a certain amount of tolerance, I do not think I should be impertinent and weary them with my views on any educational subject. I presume I have been asked to address you not because it is thought I can enlighten the members of the University on matters falling within their own field. I take it that I am expected to say something falling more particularly within my own field of work.

In the last few weeks very valuable and learned addresses have been delivered at the various Universities dealing with problems of constitution-making. But I feel that it would be out of place for me to follow that line even if I were qualified to do so. I do not believe I could ask graduates of the University to frame a draft constitution for India or find solutions for our problems of self-government. I might have addressed such an appeal to your learned professors had I truly felt that they could tackle the problems. With the greatest respect, however, I must say that a solution for our problems of self-government must come from men of action and not from learned academicians.

You have heard, no doubt, that there has been a difference of opinion between Gandhiji and myself over the creed of non-violence and its application in national policy. It is now fairly common talk and has aroused a good deal of public curiosity. It would be inappropriate and unwise for me to entertain you with the story of differences

amongst us in regard to the Congress programme of action. But it would be neither out of place nor without academic purpose to acquaint you with certain fundamental questions that have emerged from the recent situation.

Twenty-two years ago, Mahatma Gandhi took the Congress by storm when he showed us a way out of the blind alley of unsuccessful constitutional agitation. If our cause is just and if we are prepared for sacrifice, he has shown us that when our opponent refuses to be reasonable and there appears to be no means other than violence to overcome his opposition, there is still a way out of the despair that faces us. He taught us the way of non-co-operation and satyagraha, forms of non-violent attack that we have practised with considerable success during the past two decades. This practice has given us something more than objective success. We have gained a feeling of inexhaustible strength which is more precious than any actual achievement, because it sterilizes all defeats and failures, and protects us effectively during every reverse.

No principle of action, however, can escape the modifications required to meet changing conditions. No principle can be practised in this complicated world without compromise, especially when we are dealing, not with individuals, but with large numbers of men and women under pre-existing conditions which involve us in a vicious circle rendering the effective application of any remedy difficult. In the case of methods of violence we bring about the extinction of our opponent by a physical process. We overcome opposition by putting an end to the opponent. In non-violence, we bring opposition to an end by bringing about a change of heart. We retain the

opponent, but bring his opposition to an end. This change of heart is brought about by the direct method of persuasion wherever that is possible. If that be not possible, we practise self-suffering and, through the operation of the fundamental laws of human psychology, excite reactions in his mind that are very real and effective. Direct action that operates through embarrassment and brings the opponent to his knees by depriving him of his sources of strength is not satyagraha, but only a variation of the method of violence. In satyagraha, we do not seek to embarrass by any such physical means. We address ourselves to the moral feelings of our opponent and try to rouse his innate sense of right and cause him mental distress from which he will find relief only by doing the right thing. In applying this rule, then, there must be numerous limitations and many necessary variations on account of the actual conditions under which we have to work. It was recognized long ago that we could not hope straightway to abolish all international competition and greed and consequent international wars. It was also recognized long ago that protection of person and property against unsocial elements would have to continue to call for the application of force. It was seen also that non-killing would in practice require the admission of numerous exceptions in the interests of sanitation and health. These and other modifications in the practice of non-violence do not mean that we simply cast the principles of non-violence to the winds. We keep our face steadily in the direction of ahimsa, but only do not commit the mistake of killing the principle itself by opposing it to common sense and hard realities.

The defence of India is, according to some of us, a case to be treated as an exception. The issue did not come up in these precise terms at any time before this, but all the same the exception was not unrecognized. Now, however, the issues that have emerged on account of the present war and the attitude of Britain towards the rightful claim of India to independence cannot be dealt with unless we face this problem of non-violence in relation to national defence. Gandhiji stands for total opposition to all war. But some of us feel that our struggle cannot simultaneously bear the weight of two major issues—the issue of British control over India and the demand for its complete removal, and the issue of total non-participation in war, irrespective of equity or policies of alliance to secure just ends. Surely, we cannot hope for emancipation at the hands of Britain's enemies. We are held in bondage by Britain, and we must limit our problem to operating on the British mind. A compromise therefore becomes inevitable on the issue of non-participation in all wars. The ending of war as a means of securing international justice should be tackled some time, but not simultaneously with our national struggle which has come to the very point of solution and only awaits one or two wise steps to reach complete success.

The just and reasonable demand of the Indian people is that the governance of India should be fully transferred now, during this war—and indeed, more especially on account of this war—to a provisionally formed national coalition Government. Even from the point of view of mere efficiency, the present unconstitutional and wholly undemocratic arrangement at the Centre and in most of

the Provinces is a fatally weak arrangement, which will crumble at the onslaught of real danger. If Britain ignores the just and reasonable demand of India, she cannot secure the free and willing co-operation of India—the India either of the National Congress or of the Muslim League. On anything but this basis, Britain can only coerce and exploit, she cannot get co-operation. The Congress and the Muslim League agree cent per cent on this stand, and no sophistry can hide this fact from the intelligent world. The absence of a political settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League cannot wipe out the glaring fact that the consensus of opinion on this vital point is against Britain.

There are some people for whom the deciding consideration is success. They feel it a disgrace to take up a stand and make a proposal which may be turned down by the British Government which dominates through coercion. I do not agree with them. The methods of non-violence do not permit of withdrawal from a correct position for the mere reason that it is not agreed to by the opponent. If we have faith in the fundamentals of non-violent methods, we should make our minimum demand and stick to it in spite of every seeming disappointment.

There are again some whose hearts are turned towards chaos in the deliberate and scientific maturing of which alone they see hope for the future of our country. They must oppose anything that would retard the progress of such fermentation of chaos. It is hardly necessary for me to say that while we must face chaos when it comes, that is not something deliberately to work for.

If I have not made matters more clear, it is because I have to avoid going into details and cannot take you into active politics.

I have been a not insignificant colleague of Gandhiji. I have worked with him these twenty-two years and feel the just pride of having helped him substantially to develop and put into action his principles and methods. Many are the ties that bind me to him, and it is not a pleasure to discover a difference and recognize it as leading to a parting of the ways. But prayerfully and in all humility should we face such a recognition if come it must.

Two years ago when Sir Shah Sulaiman spoke to the graduates of this University on a similar occasion, he referred to the war that had just been declared. He spoke with the voice of hope. According to him, war had been declared to end the rule of force and to eliminate violence from international dealings. He said that the cataclysm had come in order to end the rule of the strong over the weak, and to extinguish the wicked cult of racial superiority. He told the graduates that greed and ambition were the forces against which this war was being waged. Two years have passed and we are now in a position to judge what is likely to be left behind as a result of the cataclysm. Famine and pestilence will ravage large tracts of the world. The rule of force, it is now too obvious, will not be eliminated as a result of this war, any more than it was at the end of the last war. The cult of racial superiority threatens to continue in one form or another. There is no promise that greed and ambition will either end or be satiated or consume themselves. There will be large changes, but the troubles of humanity,

I fear, will not be ended. We are still nowhere near the end of the war, and it is clear that it will bring no good to any of the peoples of the West, or to the peoples of the East. It has interfered with the progress of freedom in our country. It has interfered with the progress of the cult of non-violence. Indeed, both offence and defence in this war will probably contribute to the death of many a good principle.

In spite of these evil omens, we may rest assured that before the young graduates assembled here are called upon to put forth their own energies in politics, some form of self-government will be in operation in India as a result of the struggles undertaken by the generation to which I belong. It will be your privilege and duty, young men and women, to shape out of what we shall achieve that fuller freedom to which India is truly entitled. Whatever may be the quality and quantum of the freedom that we in our time will have achieved for the country, it will be your privilege and duty in your time to knock off the limitations and detractions, and build that fuller and complete freedom which we call independence. It will be India's good fortune if you achieve that goal in a non-violent way, through order instead of through chaos. It will be your privilege again to apply the principle of true non-violence in the working of that freedom after it has been achieved. Ahimsa does not end with the achievement of national deliverance from foreign political control. Indeed, I think that the greater task will begin after that deliverance. It will be an unceasing endeavour, and the happiness of free India will be in the measure of our loyalty to the principle of non-violence after the achievement of freedom. If flogging has not been eliminated from elementary

schools, violence still prevails in education. There is need to wage war against violence in the affairs of the family, in the working of penal laws, in industrial operations, in fact, in every department of social and national activity. Ahimsa is a continual life-struggle against violence in every form.

Lucknow is one of the pre-eminently historic cities of India. It has long been the fostering centre of great cultures. But Lucknow's greatest 'luck' is perhaps its association with Indian national unity in our own times. May it contribute once again to a further consolidation of Indian unity. I appeal to you specially at this Convocation, young men and women of Lucknow, that you should make Indian unity your special mission. I repeat what Sir Shah Sulaiman told you two years ago. Every community in India is entitled to call India its own. It is absolutely impossible to make progress in any direction unless we agree to work together harmoniously. In this University, wherein Science, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian all figure so greatly and together, where young men and women both Hindu and Muslim meet and work side by side, an example can be set of harmony and unity such as is possible nowhere else. Sir Walter Scott once wrote in his diary that politics are the blowpipe beneath whose influence the best cemented friendships too often dissever. But quoting from another entry in his diary, I say, do not allow political strife to mix its waters with your daily meal, those waters of bitterness which poison mutual love between the well-disposed on each side and prevent them from making, if need were, mutual concessions and balancing the constitution against the ultras of both parties. You in Lucknow can build up a new culture of unity and

harmony of political thought which will enable you to lead modern India and laugh at the obstructors. That India will be free one day and great again, leading an Asiatic Federation of great nations, is certain. Build, build daily with unflagging hope and unremitting industry for that consummation.

We are in a bad state in many ways, under the heel of a foreign democracy and disunited. But even so why need we despair?

> "Come what may
> Time and the hour runs through the roughest day."

It is not brute force but moral power that really commands predominance in the world, as Lord Haldane told the students of Edinburgh University in a famous Rectorial address. To enforce this lesson, he recounted the great story of Germany's rebirth in the nineteenth century. I shall repeat it to you almost in his own words. After the Battle of Jena in 1806, Germany was under the heel of Napoleon. From the point of view of brute force, she was crushed. In vain she shook at her chains; the man was too strong for her. But there was a power greater than that of the sword—the power of the spirit. Germany was weak and poor. But she had a possession that proved of far greater importance to her in the long run. Beaten soldiers and second-rate politicians gave place to some of the greatest philosophers and poets that the world has seen for 2,000 years. These men re-fashioned the concept of the State, and, through their disciples there permeated to the public, the idea that the life of the State, with its controlling power of good, was as real and as great as the

life of the individual. Men and women were taught to feel that in the law and order which could be brought about by the general will was freedom in the deepest and truest sense—the freedom which was to be realized only by those who had accepted wholeheartedly the larger ends in place of particular and selfish aspirations. The philosophers of Germany gave to their people the gospel of the wide outlook and the lesson that the people must live the larger life, be unselfish, helpful and reverent. A people in the depths of national despair were taught to be conscious of the greatness of which human nature is capable. In science, in philosophy, in theology, in poetry, in music, the Higher Command was obeyed, and the subordinate leaders set to work, imbued with the same great ideas and animated by the same spirit. The result was the rule of the organizing spirit in every sphere. The leaders saw clearly that education was the key to all advance, and they set to work at it. It took sixty years to complete the task, but completed it was at last, with a thoroughness the like of which the world has hardly seen elsewhere. The German scheme of education is unrivalled as a triumph of the spirit of organization, except by that other wonderful outcome of scientific organization—the German army. When the lesson of self-organization is once learned by a people, it is not readily forgotten. Hence the German revival once again after the crushing blow of the last Great War. Thus, then, do nations rise from the depths of darkest gloom. Why then should we despair? The greatness of India is not dead. We should know that she is just hibernating and that when the winter has ended, she will live again.

III. OSMANIA *

It is a great honour to have been invited to speak at this Convocation. I tender my grateful thanks to His Exalted Highness and to the University for conferring this privilege on me. The University has worked for twenty-five years and qualified for its Silver Jubilee this year, and I am happy to tender my congratulations to the Chancellor and the Government on their achievements. The last time I was on these grounds your late Chancellor was alive. It is too sad for words that I come here to participate in this function after he is gone for ever. I am proud of the love and regard he chose to bestow on me. This is no occasion for referring to a private friendship, however insistent the memory. Sir Akbar Hydari gave of his best to Hyderabad. May his soul rest in peace, and so may that of his dear wife who lies interred here as a sacred relic of Sir Akbar's connexion with Hyderabad.

I congratulate you graduates who have just received your degrees, especially those who have won distinction. You are now part of the precious stream which must water, nourish and maintain the living culture of our people. As graduates of a relatively young University you have a more particular duty to perform than those sent out by the older Universities. By your love of learning and continued application and more than that, by

* Delivered at the Convocation of Osmania University at Hyderabad (Dn.) on 27th January 1944.

your enlightened conduct, you should bring credit, distinctive credit, to your University. Remember that you are the products of an important experiment, namely, the imparting of the highest modern learning through an Indian language. You will be rigorously judged by critics who have received their own training through the unnatural, though may-be-at-present richer, medium of a foreign language. Not only have you no cause to feel inferior, but you have every reason for just pride and confidence. If you maintain your habits of study and regard for truth, and keep your faculty for right judgment whetted by daily practice and verification, if you are wary and keep your sense of values unspoiled, you will not find it difficult to do your battle of friendly rivalry with others, howsoever industriously they may have been trained through a foreign language. You can go about it with complete confidence.

I referred to culture and said that you formed part of the body of trustees for India's culture. What I call Indian culture is one and indivisible. I take it that that is the creed of this University. Separate cultures referred to in certain controversies are hypothetical ideas framed *ad hoc* for the purpose of investigation and reasoning. We should not confound religion or religious practices with culture. The culture of India, for all its variety, is in fact one. It is single and indivisible, even as the climate of India is one, notwithstanding its variety. It is a distinct entity like English culture. You do not analyse the colour of the peacock or of the spotted deer or the tiger's gorgeous coat. You do not perceive it as a conglomeration of several separate colours, but apprehend

it as one composite whole. So it is with what I call the culture of India, and it is of this culture that you are trustees.

On behalf of the gathering here, I congratulate you and give you our best wishes. I hope you will fulfil with honour and efficiency the duties cast on you in return for the special concern which the State and the learned men engaged for the purpose have spent on you through the period of fifteen years of *Brahmacharya* that you finish to-day.

The Osmania University is unique in all India in that the imparting of the highest scientific education as well as the teaching of the humanities is done here through an Indian language, the rich joint product of Muslim and Hindu contact. It is unique because every other University throughout India uses the English language, and from what one can see, has no intention of using any other medium within a measurable distance of time. The teachers established in the Universities and the books in vogue form a conservative fortress of exceeding strength. The place of English in the administrative machinery of India and of almost every State and province in India completes the apparent impregnability of the fortification. Yours is an achievement of which not only you but all India should be proud. The only language that can claim to be an all-India language is Hindustani, and that is the medium of instruction in this University. Yours, then, is the true *Vidyapith*, the Swadeshi University of all India.

Let us hope that all difficulties will be overcome as they are being overcome here, and that there will soon be various Universities scattered over India where the highest

branches of knowledge are dealt with in one or other of our ten great languages. The smallest of these languages is spoken by a population larger than that of Portugal or of Scotland and Ireland combined, and many of them are spoken by larger numbers than the population of Spain. Each one of them possesses an abundant literature of its own—prose, poetry, song, drama and fiction. Unfortunately as yet even the Universities born in the new-found consciousness and renaissance of India—the Andhra University, the Mysore University and the Annamalai University—have not taken steps to impart education of the highest type in Telugu, Kannada or Tamil, nor is there any chartered University that has adopted, or is preparing to adopt, Marathi or Bengali as its medium. The great University of Benares has not yet resolved on any adventure in the direction of adopting the *lingua franca* of India as the medium of instruction for the higher University courses. I am not indulging in cheap criticism without realizing difficulties. It is because I know the difficulties that I admire the courage, the patient industry, and the achievement that the Osmania University has to its credit as a shining example for all India. Let us hope that the Osmania experiment will enable all of us throughout India to overcome our difficulties and dispel the illusion, which is the greatest of the difficulties, that there is something insuperable in giving the highest instruction through any one of the great languages of India, be it Hindustani or Telugu or Tamil or Kannada or Marathi or Bengali or Gujarati.

Sir Akbar Hydari, on whose advice His Exalted Highness issued his *firman* in 1918 and founded the Osmania

University, laid all India and all Indian languages under a debt by his bold recommendations and his courageous execution of the plan laid down. The Bureau of Translation which was founded along with the University became naturally the chief feature of the work inaugurated twenty-five years ago. All instruction in the University was to be through Hindustani, English being given its proper place as a compulsory language subject. Quoting Mr. Vincent Smith, the historian, Sir Akbar Hydari pointed out in his memorandum on Hindustani that its syntax was as simple and flexible as that of English was claimed to be, that its vocabulary was rich with an abundance of words drawn from Western Hindi,* Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, English and other sources, and that it was capable of adequately expressing ideas on any subject, literary, philosophical or scientific.

I have referred to the medium of instruction in this University as Hindustani though the official name adopted is Urdu. It is a paradox but nonetheless true that in a world dominated by prejudices, small differences cause wider gulfs than very big differences. The difference between Urdu and Hindi is insignificant, almost microscopic, compared with the yawning gulf between any Indian language and English. But we are able more easily to reconcile ourselves to getting all our schooling, not to speak of higher instruction, through English than to overcome the prejudice against Hindi or Urdu. Yet if what is spoken and understood under these two names be written in one script, the difference would not be

* Brijabhasha

greater than that between the language of Johnson's *Rasselas* and that of Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* or Lamb's *Essays of Elia*. We do not call the one English and the other by some other name. While we are quite able to swallow the English camel—language, script, idiom, phrases and all—we strain at the gnat of Hindi or Urdu because of a certain measure of difference in vocabulary. It has been conceded that it is possible even to adopt a third script, Roman, without damage to the identity of the language. Indeed large numbers in the Civil and Military services are today learning through the medium of the Roman script what we all recognize as the *lingua franca* of India. As regards the proportion of words borrowed from Sanskrit compared with that of words taken from Arabic and Persian, is that really a great point when there is no difference in structure, idiom or grammar or in the main body of the vocabulary of the language? If our ultimate goal is the enrichment of the vocabulary of Hindustani and the use of it as a medium for every variety of higher education, the difference between Hindi and Urdu based on present vocabulary is bound rapidly to vanish. The enrichment of the language that is yet to be achieved through its use in the teaching of modern knowledge will leave present differences in vocabulary far behind. Wealth and variety are advantages and not a cause for quarrel. The suitability of Hindustani as a *lingua franca* consists in the very fact that it has been handled by and modified to suit the requirements of the elite both among Hindus and Musalmans, and has for long been written in both the Urdu and Nagari scripts. The enrichment of vocabulary from

Hindu as well as Islamic sources, far from being a difficulty or cause for quarrel is the very proof of its competence for common service. There is and can be no compulsion in the choice of words.

There is no University that has made Hindi as such the medium of instruction in the faculties of sciences and the humanities. Hyderabad has rendered signal service to the *lingua franca* of India by her bold and successful experiment in Urdu. The name Urdu should not be a cause for under-rating this achievement.

I am one of those whose confirmed opinion is that the students' mother-tongue is the best and most fruitful medium of instruction. As I have said already we ought to have at least one efficient University in India for every one of the great languages spoken by the people of India, so that students from all parts of India may know where to go and get instruction in the highest branches of the arts and sciences in their mother-tongue. The question of what is the most effective medium is placed beyond controversy by the recorded opinion of the All-India Universities Conference which held its deliberations in Bombay in March, 1939. They passed a resolution that in their considered opinion the medium of instruction at different stages of education up to and including the degree course should be the mother-tongue of the students and that with a view to attaining this end, the Universities of India should take steps to enrich the literature of the respective Indian languages. No University has made an adequate or perhaps even an honest endeavour to attain this urgent educational objective. The Osmania University took up the task twenty-five years ago and its achievement is

such that it should serve as a beacon-light to others whose duties in this direction centre round the other great Indian languages.

I have said so much about the achievement of Osmania University in respect of the *lingua franca* of India. But I am not unaware of what may be called the skeleton at the feast—the medium of instruction in Secondary education. The announcement of the invitation extended to me to deliver this Convocation address was a signal for several public workers to open correspondence with me on the State's policy in respect of the medium of instruction for Secondary education. I made it clear to my correspondents that it was not my intention to use this occasion for entering into any discussion of Hyderabad's policy. I am too keenly alive to the difficulties of administration, especially in the formulation and working of educational policy, in an area composed, as Hyderabad is, of people speaking four different great languages, each with affiliations abroad and a literature of which it is justly proud. Any light-hearted and hasty criticism or advice can be exploited to increase the existing difficulties. But I do not wish to minimize the importance of the issues involved. I have already stated in explicit terms the fundamental creed of education through the mother-tongue, to which I adhere. Sir Akbar Hydari and His Exalted Highness have both laid down in unambiguous terms that one's mother-tongue is the only effective medium for the acquisition of knowledge and for the complete conversion of what is acquired into a part of one's own being. But our loyalty to a creed should not result in blind passion or a refusal to see facts. On the

one hand, uniformity of rules and procedure is the normal aspiration and consequence of every modern unified administration. This cannot be ignored or belittled. It is absolutely true that the claim of the mother-tongue is one that cannot be neglected without serious injury to the cause of education, which in the long run means injury to the State itself. But it is equally true that when more than one language claims this natural and indefeasible right of the mother-tongue, the problem becomes complicated and calls for the exercise of patience and compromise all round. I have no doubt the question is receiving the continued and open-minded consideration of the Government of His Exalted Highness. The happiness of the Sovereign is bound up with the contentment and progress of his people, and there is no short-cut to progress eschewing the path of true and effective education. The conditions of modern education are, however, complex, and State policy has to cover a wide ground. Peace and toleration create difficulties as great as do their opposites. Several peoples have come together, several faiths live together, several languages flourish side by side in the same State as a result of peace and toleration. The problem of positive service on the part of the State to the composite population thus placed together under its care becomes very complex and difficult.

Not only this, but there are other difficulties arising out of the complexity of modern developments in education. Almost the whole burden is thrown on schools run by the State, the family contributing but little towards the preliminary education of the child. The divisions of education into Primary, Lower Secondary,

Higher Secondary and University courses are not water-tight. They are not isolated courses. In no one stage is the training quite so independent of the requirements of the next stage as the authorities dealing with the matter would wish it were. Each stage is for the most deserving and for a large number of hopefuls, as much a preparation for the next stage as it is an independent course by itself for the others. Differentiation of those who can and ought to go up to the next stage from those who cannot do so is not practicable. As a result of all this, the perfect organizational conditions required for one stage are complicated by the requirements of the next stage. This affects not only the subject-matter of the instruction given but also the question of the medium of instruction. Those who are responsible for the organization of Secondary education cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the best students in High Schools and a large number of others as well legitimately look forward to going to the University, and that it cannot be decided beforehand who may be permitted to aspire to this and who may not. We should not forget that University education has not been undertaken through the medium of Kannada, Telugu or Marathi in Hyderabad, or anywhere else in India for that matter. The English medium prevails everywhere in our Universities and this queers the pitch for any reform of Secondary education.

The fact that the Osmania University imparts instruction in the highest courses through Hindustani directly affects the medium to be adopted for Secondary education. If up to the last point in Secondary schools, instruction should be given through the medium of a mother-

tongue other than Urdu, it may be feared that a large body of students would be ill equipped for the University courses to which they may legitimately aspire. If the Government of Hyderabad made the apparently good rule that in the Kannada, Telugu and Marathi areas Secondary education shall be imparted through these languages respectively, what would the parents of the more promising boys and girls say about the necessary consequence of this, namely, that they would be practically excluded from the higher courses available in the Osmania University and from the chances in life open to the Osmania graduates? The problem is complicated everywhere, and more so in Hyderabad. We may not get ideal solutions but must be content at present with compromises and experiments. One compromise regarding Secondary education would be to enforce Urdu as a language subject while imparting instruction in all subjects through the medium of the regional language, but accompanied by a liberal use of the terms of science and art used in the Osmania University for higher courses in the same subject. But I should not trespass into this problem any further. I hope that the passage from English to the Indian languages is not rendered needlessly difficult by passion and prejudice, and by stress on the theoretical advantages of administratively impracticable alternatives.

I have not touched on politics so far. I do not propose to do so here because I have very recently set down my views on the present situation in very clear terms in a booklet* written for that purpose and I have nothing to

* *The Way Out.*

add to it. I should like, however, to say one thing from this platform to this gathering of the most enlightened section of Hyderabad people. I hold the view that it is an erroneous belief that is carelessly being spread that the citizens of the Indian States are politically inferior or backward compared to the citizens of British Indian provinces. National consciousness has spread all over India at one and the same pace everywhere. The citizens of the Indian States are as fit and as ready (or as unfit and as unready) for democracy as the citizens of the British provinces are. Our Princes can today, without disturbing the efficiency of administration, grant representative institutions and set up constitutional Governments on the basis of parliamentary democracy as was done in the British provinces, and themselves occupy the royal and exalted position that Governors enjoy in those provinces, with the great and significant addition of the personal affection that they will always command in the hearts of the people. If the Princes trusted the capacity of their subjects for democracy, it would be the greatest moral contribution towards the attainment of freedom for the motherland as a whole.

IV. NAGPUR*

I tender my respectful congratulations on the progress that has been made in the University during the last year. You are one of the youngest of the Indian Universities, having just come of age—I believe you finish 21 this year. Oxford and Cambridge and some other ancient Universities in Europe have an unbroken history of 700 years and more. Harvard, Yale and Princeton in America are about three centuries old. But none of the Universities in India has yet completed a hundred years. Nagpur has, therefore, no reason to think it is too young to assert itself.

Six years after the foundation of your University the number of students who applied for the annual examinations was 1,386. You registered 3,777 candidates for your last examinations, that is to say, you trebled your output in the course of fifteen years. The increase over last year itself has been by nearly 500. I am glad you have nearly 500 women candidates, which is well above the all-India average. It must be a source of pride that you have been represented at all important gatherings in India dealing with academical subjects during the last year. I am glad that your University will have the privilege of playing host to the Indian Science Congress at its next session. I believe you are well on your way to having a Medical

*Delivered at the Convocation of Nagpur University on 25th November 1944.

College as well as a full-fledged Engineering College. You are naturally proud of your Officers' Training Corps. I am glad that nearly 600 University students are taking advantage of the facilities offered and that you have reached the maximum strength authorized.

The total number of students undergoing University education in India is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. You have charge of nearly 5,000, that is, you are responsible for three per cent of the total number of University students in India. Universities play a supremely important part in the system of education in any country. Their standards, their methods and their requirements have a large share in the shaping of the system of education right down to the bottom. Universities should serve to raise the intellectual tone of society as a whole, to cultivate the public mind and to purify the national taste. They should enlarge and at the same time give sobriety to prevailing ideas. They should, by producing men with trained minds and a well-equipped understanding, facilitate the exercise of political power by the people. It is only if people can elect enlightened representatives to act on their behalf that democracy can do good and flourish. Apart from these utilitarian functions, Universities should refine the intercourse of private life. Applying these tests to Universities in India, the Sargent Report arrives at a disappointing conclusion. Let us remember that the report is not the production of ill-disposed and discontented nationalists. It is the considered official report of a committee guided by a very capable and conservative English adviser who might normally have been inclined to justify the policy and work hitherto pursued in the field of education

in India. The report says that much remains to be done before the Indian Universities can be regarded as fulfilling their true functions.

The Committee is of the opinion that the activities of our Universities have not been duly related to the practical needs of the community as a whole. This is very severe condemnation. The political and economic condition of the country is mainly to blame for the deplorable state of unemployment among University graduates in India. Twenty per cent of them, it is estimated, are wholly unemployed. Fifty per cent are in jobs for which an ordinary High School education should have been enough. Only 30 per cent, it is calculated, can be said to have secured employment of a type in keeping with their attainments or commensurate to the time and money spent on their education. When we enquire into any evil, especially a social or economic evil, we come up against a multiplicity of causes and generally discover a vicious circle. Dealing, however, with a particular institution it is well we examine the defects in that institution although there may be collateral causes and defects elsewhere. If we followed true and equitable principles of national expenditure, the output of the Universities should be limited to the actual absorption-capacity of the community. Otherwise the waste involved would be most unjustified. Our Universities, however, are largely dependent on college and examination fees. They are unwilling to take any step that would mean a drastic reduction in fee-income. They do not therefore feel inclined to reduce admissions to levels dictated by the availability of suitable employment in the country. They may talk about planning, but they have

no mind to plan their own out-turn to suit the actual requirements of the nation. On the other hand, students and parents have fallen victim to what may be called a new gambling habit. A few prize-jobs are available and everyone who has acquired the necessary previous equipment seeks to invest time and money in order to qualify for the mere chance of obtaining one of these prize-jobs. The lucky ones are not necessarily the best, for communal considerations also come in when the allotment of jobs is made. Those who get the prizes are of course happy and have no cause to complain. They are in no mood to see defects in the system. The rest, and they are the vast majority, eighty per cent, are thrown upon their own resources after having lost in the gamble. These proceed ruthlessly to oust those who possess only a High School education from the competition for ordinary jobs for which a High School education is enough. The wise and careful are ousted by those who have spent time and money on an education not relevant to the jobs themselves, but who have lost in the gamble for higher prizes. The evil thus spreads. The system drives boys who have satisfactorily finished the High School course into the scramble for University education, so that they may not be pushed out in the competition for employment. This explains the remarkably high proportion of students in India resorting to Universities from among the products of our High Schools, as compared with the proportion prevailing in Britain and Germany. One out of every three High School pupils in India goes to the University, whereas in the western countries mentioned it is less than one in seven.

What I have said is not the outcome of a bullock-cart mentality and anti-higher-education psychology developed in me by continued association with Sevagram. You can read the Sargent Report and find full justification for all that I have said. Yet, as that report admits, this does not mean that India is over-provided with University education. Calculated in relation to the total population, India is the most backward of all civilized nations in University education. In Germany the number of students in the Universities before this war was 1 to 690 of the total population; in Great Britain it is 1 to 837; in the United States it is 1 to 225; in Russia, 1 to 300. In India it is only 1 to 2,206. The economic structure of the body politic should be re-built. Things should be planned and not left to speculation and individual exploitation. The University programme should be an integral part of a scheme for the whole of national life, its present activities and its hopes for the future. There should be no waste and no unemployment or misemployment of men and women trained at great expense.

It is a matter for gratification that the old war against affiliating Universities as distinguished from unitary Universities on the model of Oxford and Cambridge has ended with the Sargent Report. It lays down in clear terms that affiliating and examining Universities are a necessity in India, because in a vast country like ours higher education cannot be concentrated in a few selected centres.

The Sargent Report has rightly observed that there is nothing to be said for uniformity at any stage of education in a country of India's size and variety, and that there

is great need for constant experiments at all stages. One experiment that requires to be made at once is at least the partial use of the regional language as the medium of instruction in colleges. The dominant position of the Universities prevents genuine efforts at a change-over from English even in the High Schools, although it has been made clear beyond all doubt that High School instruction, if it is to be efficient, must be in the mother-tongue, the latest re-affirmation of this being in the Sargent Report. The language of instruction is distinct from the language of technical terms, and a change-over in the one need not wait for an overhaul of the other.

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You did not invite me as one with any special qualification to advise on matters of education. You have done it, I presume, because of my service in the political field. You would like me to tell you what I think at this moment when our national aspirations have received rebuffs all round and our political fortunes seem to be at the lowest ebb. Even His Excellency the Chancellor, not to speak of the new graduates, may be surprised, if not disappointed, if I conclude my address without making some remarks on the political situation, of course in a language and manner suited to the academical atmosphere of this gathering.

A friend in Canada recently sent me a marked copy of a Canadian magazine containing a contribution from the Rt. Hon'ble Malcolm Macdonald, the British High Commissioner in Canada. The article seeks to explain British intentions towards the Colonies and towards India

after the war. Mr. Macdonald says that the primary purpose of British administration, even among the primitive races in Africa, has been and will be to train them to stand firmly on their own social and political legs. I do not know what General Smuts on the one hand or the natives on the other may have to say on this point. But let us see what this high British official says about India. No one can yet predict, says he, when any particular colony will reach the goal of complete self-government, but so far as the British Government and the British people can determine it, the time for its arrival in India has been fixed. For many years past, says he, the British Government have been anxious to press ahead with reforms that would result in the assumption by India of the full powers of a sovereign nation. He says that certain practical difficulties prevent fulfilment and that these difficulties exist not in British policy but in India. We are told that partly the Princely Indian States complicate the issue, but the primary difficulty is that the Hindu and Muslim communities have not yet been able to compose their political differences and to agree upon a constitution for a self-governing India. The British High Commissioner in Canada is certain that if the people of India could agree among themselves, their complete national freedom either as a Dominion or as an independent nation outside the Commonwealth is assured at the end of this war, as the British Government have agreed as soon as the war has ended to implement this policy in the letter and the spirit.

You are well aware that I hold the view that these pronouncements should be taken at their full face value and

constantly placed before the world, so that when the time comes the British may be estopped from going back on their pledges. In spite of this policy that I recommend to Indian nationalism, I must say that reading this article of the British High Commissioner, one is reminded of a Mahabharata story, which is well-known in India. When the truthful Yudhistira said on the battle-field, "Dead is Aswatthama the elephant", the Machiavellian leader of the Pandava forces loudly blew his conch as the word 'elephant' was uttered. The message was partially jammed and Drona, the Commander of the Kaurava forces, had to die having heard from the lips of the truthful Yudhistira that his son Aswatthama was dead. A half-truth is worse than a lie. What the British High Commissioner in Canada has said and British propagandists all over the world are saying is not the whole truth, judged from their present conduct. Let us not be misled by the blast of conchs.

Does Britain wish to present these two points about the Princes and the Muslims as mere arguments and excuses for a policy of drift and negation, or does Britain feel unhappy over these two difficulties and wish to overcome them if possible? If the latter is the case, we shall accept any just and fair award that would end these difficulties at once. A court of arbitration may be constituted to the satisfaction of the Allied Powers or of Canada and the United States where all this propaganda is done. Why should we wait for the end of the war in the Far East as well as in the West? Would the establishment of a representative government at the head of affairs in India be a greater distraction than the Presidential election in

America? And are there not compensating advantages even if we should suffer a temporary distraction?

'Princely India,' as it is called, cannot complicate the issue if Britain makes up her mind. We know how British Governors-General have dealt with the Princes in the past and still sometimes do when it suits them. The stories of Oudh, of Nagpur, of Jhansi and of Satara can be read even in school-books of Indian History. The minorities problem is one that every part of the civilized world has to face and resolve. We may and should conciliate every minority, but not even the most powerful minority can be allowed to veto for all time the lawful wishes of the majority. The majority has never objected to an equitable distribution of power and responsibility and has always been agreeable to the most careful and particular protection of every civic, economic and political right of the minorities that is known to the civilized world.

When war broke out in 1939 and threatened to spread over the whole world, the Indian National Congress desired that in order to enable India to play her part in it, her people should be declared free and entitled to full self-government. The Congress made it clear in repeated resolutions that it did not adopt an attitude of pacifism or neutrality in relation to this war, which it knew it could not do even if it so wished. It declared itself ready and willing for the fullest association with the Allies provided her claim to a status of independence and equality with the other free peoples of the world was admitted. The Congress made this position as clear as it did the obverse of it, namely, that it protested against India being

coerced into belligerency without recognition of her free status.

The issue was not handled by the British Government in the manner that the situation demanded. As a result mutual distrust developed and became fixed as a chronic disease, so that even His Majesty's Government's declaration of March 11, 1942, to which no exception could be taken, hardly made any impression on the people of India. Still, had more patience been shown by the British mission in the negotiations that took place in Delhi in April, 1942, and had more earnest co-operation been forthcoming from the Viceroy, the issue might have been solved. But as everyone now knows, greater attention was directed to propaganda as to who was to blame than to a settlement of the issue itself. I do not claim for the Indian leaders that they on their side made no mistakes in this situation. Blunders on one side could not bring disaster if on the other side were developed compensating tact, patience and statesmanship. We could have saved the situation in spite of Viceregal non-co-operation if we had these qualities in extra measure. Instead, we succumbed to the temptation of competing in pride, impatience and distrust, and the negotiations broke down. The British Government were not prepared to go far in taking risks to appease Indian nationalism or in extending trust to those who showed so much distrust. They preferred to be content with such co-operation as they could get on their own terms and banked on the resources that they could commandeer with the help and power of the physical authority they exercised in this country. They decided to fight Indian nationalism as

well as the Axis. They adopted methods of non-co-operation as well as of repression in conducting this battle. They met every symptom of discontent with repression and adopted the method of passive resistance against all proposals for a solution of the deadlock. This policy continues, and our own errors of pride and lack of statesmanship have helped the British. The future is full of danger for world peace. Wisdom calls for a satisfactory solution of the Indian problem before the peace treaty of 1945 overtakes the world.

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The honour of an invitation to address the graduates of this University was extended to me on more than one occasion before this, but I was prevented for one reason or another from enjoying the privilege. I am very grateful to the authorities of the University for repeating the invitation in spite of my defaults. I understand that the invitation to me has displeased certain people who hold the view that there should be no conciliation of Muslim opinion by any recognition of the right of Muslim tracts to separation in the future constitution of India. On behalf of the University authorities I must point out that the invitation extended to me is much older than the recent negotiations. In fact, I owe an apology to the late Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Kedar, for my inability to accept his invitations during his terms of office. Again, on my own behalf, let me ask those who apprehend evil from my address: is the case for undivided Hindustan so weak that it can be endangered by a speech of mine on this occasion? Such fear does no credit to the strength of your

convictions. Obviously you doubt your creed. Or is it your view that these graduates who have gone through an intellectual course that has qualified them for various degrees in your University are yet so poor of understanding that they cannot safely stand a single assault on my part? It would do little credit to your confidence in University education if you think its products should be kept in intellectual *purdah* lest the purity of their beliefs and opinions should be corrupted.

I know that the University authorities do not hold such views and that I am perhaps giving undue importance to a stray dissenter. But I feel that I had better point out the error of even one person who has such apprehensions. Our national problems are difficult and cry for solution. No one, least of all University men, should hold the view that truth is protected by suppression of opinion or that a University education that entitles one to a degree is yet not good enough to enable one safely to hear some contrary opinions on national questions.

And what is this heresy I am guilty of? I stand for a solution of the Muslim issue on terms which have now obtained the approval and adherence of the acknowledged captain of our national affairs. The terms of the solution are open to anyone to examine and criticize. Let us by all means prefer to let things remain unsolved rather than agree to anything dishonourable or tyrannical; but it is not dishonour or submission to tyranny to allow the majorities in any area to be in more than subordinate charge of the affairs of those areas, which is the offer we made to Mr. Jinnah and with which he is not satisfied.

Muslim leadership has, in my humble opinion, shown an incapacity for courageously following up its own declared policy. It is ever the case that we show more courage when demanding something that the other party will not give than when it arrives and claims our acceptance and responsibility. The responsibilities and dangers of a sovereign separate State become more obvious when it is offered than when it was demanded and refused. The Muslim League obviously prefers controversy to the responsibilities of government. It finds a sense of success in functioning as a well-disciplined party in opposition to any advance towards democratic rule in India, which is easier than undertaking the governancc of a separate State in the present world. It is not the champions of unitary Government, nor the Akhand Hindustan leadership, but the Muslim League itself that has dealt a severe blow and caused a set-back to the Pakistan claim. If the League's contention is that Pakistan cannot maintain itself without the inclusion of non-Muslim areas within its boundaries, it is a fatal admission against the case for separation and makes the argument for united India unanswerable. Yet this was one of the concrete claims over which the negotiations broke down. May be this is all to the good. It gives time for everyone to think more about it. If the Muslims can reconcile themselves to a united and federated India, they can have it and an honoured, even a privileged, place in it. If the Muslims want a half-way house in the shape of a Confederation of free units in voluntary combination without prejudice to their potential sovereignty, they can have such an arrangement too. If they do not want to be a unit in any

Federation or Confederation but want to be a separate sovereign State as they said when the League met at Lahore in 1940, they can have even that, but we have stated the just, fair and feasible conditions under which they can have it.

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Then we come to the seemingly greater constitutional obstacle to Indian freedom and Indian democracy, namely, the treaty-protected autocratic rule of Indian Princes in extensive tracts sprawling all over India. Their able ministers speak two languages—one the language of the modern world, of democracy and progress, when they criticize the Muslim League's attitude, and quite another language when they seek to hold on to the privileges derived from Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads entered into during the time of the East India Company. They claim alliance with the King of Great Britain and sovereign status as against Indian nationalism. They claim as a corollary the right of non-accession to any Indian polity based on democracy to which they do not individually and specifically give their approval. In internal administration they refuse to march with the times and have so far failed to give to their own people the political rights that the people of the provinces in British India enjoy under statute, although there is no difference whatever in the condition, education and culture of the people of the two intermingled areas. The talk of their own genius and tradition and development along those lines is just dust thrown in the eyes of the foreign critic. They use the phrase 'internal autonomy,' meaning

thereby the maintenance of personal rule and opposition to the movement of democracy percolating into their domains. They claim under treaty with Britain the help of British military forces to protect their authority as against their own subjects. As Professor Coupland has described it in his recent book, the gatherings that take the name of legislative assemblies even in some of the most advanced of these Indian States are still mere Durbars that add colour to the grandeur of the personal rule that prevails in those areas. Psychological illusions of democracy are sought to be created with the help of large nominated blocs that silently vote to order and neutralize any popular vote. The Madras States, Mysore, Hyderabad, the Central Indian States, the Eastern States, the Western India States, the Rajaputana States and Kashmir form together a great sprawling patch on the map of India and are a greater logical impediment to the aspiration for unitary democratic rule in India than the vague and unparticularized desire of the Muslim League to form a sovereign State out of certain areas in the north-west of India and in East Bengal. What I have said about the absence of constitutional government in the Indian States does not mean that some of the Princes and their capable officials have not done a great deal for the prosperity and happiness of their people. Indeed in some matters autocratic rule can achieve quickly what takes considerable time and management in democracies. Some of the States have advanced beyond British Provinces in certain matters that do not affect the personal authority of the Princes and their ministers. But good government is no substitute for self-government, as Dadabhai Naoroji, quoting Campbell-

Bannerman, said 38 years ago, and it is still as true as ever before.

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That India has a great future is certain. My faith is as strong as ever, but we must shed the fond dream of driving the ball into the hole in one stroke. We have to work up to it and work positively. We must abandon the notion that it is patriotic to be in the wilderness and that if we avoid present responsibility, the great prize will drop on us as a gift from the gods in return for the *tapasya* of abstention. We should cease hoping that by some magic our persistent refusal to help ourselves will outwit both the enemies of our freedom abroad and the opponents of nationalism at home, and that until then we have only to be patient. Let us not imagine that by persistent abstention from exercising partial responsibility we shall achieve both our objectives at one and the same time, that of bringing about internal harmony and confidence in place of discord and distrust, and of wresting full power from the unwilling Imperialists who have our country and its people in their grip. If we wish to advance in our programme we must seize such opportunities and such power as and when they come, and use them to heal the diseases that have developed in the body politic. We should use them to build up the habit of a common purpose cutting across clans, creeds and communities and to establish social and economic conditions that will help us to become strong as a united people and sustain the responsibilities of freedom. The cry may be raised that this is a defeatist mentality and that I advocate surrender. Of such

claptrap we have had more than enough. To give up an illusion is not surrender but wisdom, especially when that illusion leads us to leave the field free to Imperialism and those that thrive on it, to corruption and the full play of all anti-national forces. The confidence that if we seize our opportunities and take up power and responsibility we can build is not defeatism but the contrary of it. Subjection has developed diseases of all kinds and I firmly believe that they cannot be healed by merely remaining in the wilderness and allowing reaction full scope for mischief. Let us by all means keep our aim and our inherent right to a revolution intact. Let us not commit ourselves to a course that takes us away from the goal and the path leading to it. But let us not discard precious opportunities for building up. The handiest and most effective tool for constructive work that rebuilds a nation is the government machine.

The journey along the route that I advocate may seem long, but it may prove much shorter than it may now seem. On the other hand the heroic short-cuts that appear on the map of our day-dreams may be nowhere available in actual battle and serve only to leave the enemies of progress in full and free possession of the field. I advise this course on its own merits, but let us remember also that when this present war terminates, as a result of experience gained therein by the belligerents, the status of international sovereignty will be curtailed in material respects. "Inter-dependence, not independence" will be the international slogan raised by the Great Powers. Excepting America, Britain and Russia, all the peoples of the world will be less than sovereign. None of the small

States properly so called or the States which though big in size and population must lag behind in military and economic organization will be truly independent. All of these will be treated as legitimate fields for the activities of the International Police, which is another name for the triphibious forces of the Great Powers. But, or rather therefore, India will not be worse off than most of the so-called independent States of the world, if she takes up her own responsibility under any fairly decent settlement. The quality and numerical strength of our population are such that in spite of all that I apprehend may happen in the world immediately after this war, I am certain that we shall one day be a great well-governed people at the head of the liberated peoples of the world leading them in civilization. Let me hope that you who have received degrees this year will see that day in your life-time.

I congratulate you on the attainment of your degrees, in particular the women-graduates. Do not be depressed either by your unemployment or by your environment. Even if you do not find work suitable to your equipment and commensurate with the labour you have bestowed on your education, remember your role as University men and women and do what you can to raise the intellectual tone of society, to purify the public taste, to make people broad-minded and to bring refinement in private life. In such endeavour you will find your happiness whatever may be your rank or condition. God bless you all.

V. INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY*

I am deeply grateful for the honour bestowed upon me by the Chancellor in asking me to address the graduates of the Women's University this year. Eminent Vice-Chancellors have delivered the address on previous occasions. My diffidence is great as I stand before you to perform the duty imposed upon me.

I wish you had asked some lady of ripe experience to speak at this function. There are many things a woman could speak with courage and persuasive force which from a man like me would carry little weight. In these days when the problem of equality among the sexes is raised in every walk of life and the air is charged with competition and suspicion as much as with aspirations it would be best the function of advising educated girls were taken up by women and women only.

I tender my sincere congratulations to the University on the work done and the progress achieved since thirty years ago when Dr. Bhandarkar as Chancellor and Prof. Karve as Registrar started the University with five students. It is not easy under any conditions to organize a new university and I know the depressing atmosphere in which enthusiasts for women's education and for education through the mother-tongue find themselves. To work against such an unfavourable environment requires

* Delivered at the Convocation of the S. N. D. T. Indian Women's University at Bombay on 28th July 1945.

considerable courage, patience and stamina. All honour to Prof. Karve, the founder of the University, and those who succeeded him in the heavy task.

I shall not weary the authorities of the University and their sympathizers gathered here with any advice on the technical aspects of their work. Dr. C. R. Reddi has given most valuable advice on these matters when he spoke to you four years ago. I can add nothing to that most illuminating address except by way of simple endorsement. Charter or no charter, I want you to go on courageously. It is ever difficult for a new order of things to get the approval of those who belong to the old order. Yet we are in a vicious circle and without getting such approval we cannot progress. A university using the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction has to obtain certificates of fitness from men whose ideas of education are unalterably associated with the English language. This University is seeking to work new curricula of studies based on the recognition of the essential difference between the functions of men and women in the life of the community. Yet these newly adapted courses of study have to receive the approval of those who still hug the older academical practices as the only means of acquiring a truly liberal education. We should not be impatient with conservative folk. So long as we have to function in a world controlled by the past and its traditions, we have to function within these entanglements.

I fully endorse the two principles which Mr. Karve formulated in 1915 at the National Social Conference and on which the scheme for this University was based. When laying down propositions about the education of girls we

should remember that we are not dealing with exceptional cases or laying down rules to restrict the free development of girls endowed with special talents which do away with the differences between the sexes. In laying down plans or speaking of activities covering a large number of girls, we should remember that we are providing for average gifts and large-scale conditions and probabilities. There are some girls whose brains no biological distinction need trammel and whose potentialities no social conditions can affect. The establishment of one or more women's universities does not, and should not, prevent any girls from joining men's colleges and men's universities. No girl in a women's university is to be debarred at any stage from transferring herself to any of the older co-educational universities for instruction in any branch of learning she might choose. Women's universities are intended only for those girls who, belonging to the ordinary category, would like to have and would benefit by the separate treatment and the separate courses provided for in women's universities.

Apart from extraordinary cases, most girls require a different treatment from boys. Every mother knows this. The future of girls, however full of chances and variations from one another, is still very different from the future of boys. Men and women are equal. Boys and girls are equal. There is no doubt about that. But equality in what? Certainly, equal respect should be paid to the divine spirit whether encased in the body of a man or in the body of a woman. The body is, however, distinct from the spirit. Work on the physical plane is distinct for boys and girls. The conditions of life also are different. The

preparation, therefore, must necessarily be different. Difference does not mean difference in every respect. In most respects there may be no difference, but still in some important respects there must be differences, and it is here that education has to play its part. The work which women do is as important for the community as that which men do; though they may be different. There is no higher or lower in this. Biologically the relationship is complementary. I do not deny that there is a lot of common work but the point is that there is a lot of special work also for each of the two large divisions of humanity—men and women. Just as in a living organism the several parts of the body perform differentiated functions, so in a well-organized social unit different functions appertain to different groups. An extreme form of differentiation, which has now lost respectability, is the caste system. A prevailing form of differentiation is the class organization in modern civilization. But while these distinctions of caste and class should be and are being gradually abolished the distinction between the work allotted to men and that falling on women cannot be abolished so long as we have the family system as the basis of our civilization. A woman here and a man there may exchange duties, but for women as a whole work lies in the home. From this inescapable fact arise duties and conditions which have to be met by different courses of training. To begin with, mothers and fathers bring up their sons and daughters in different ways even before they send them to school. Custom and unconscious behaviour recognize this difference. Outside the home, at school, there may be little difference in procedure in

the early stages, but as the courses of education develop and specialization begins, there is great scope for wise discrimination as to how the boy's time should be utilized and the mind developed and how a girl's should be. Just as medical courses might differ in regard to those who wish to be physicians and those who wish to be surgeons, so would boys' education differ from that of girls. There may be much in common but there are many things that have to be different between the one and the other. There has been in the world's history so much of enslavement of one class by another, of one sex by the other, that in the fierce reaction that has developed against such enslavement, we are apt to forget where the line should be drawn in the attempt to equalize. Equality is a good slogan where we have to encourage and strengthen the forces of reform against cruelty and stupidity, but in the organization of courses of education in universities and high schools, we should not be moved by passion even though it may be of a benevolent nature. Such discrimination between boys and girls as is necessary for the progress of civilization on well-ordered lines has to be made without imagining that the principle of equality is thereby lost. On this matter there is nothing to surpass the general doctrine of the *Bhagavadgita* which lays down that all work is equally noble. Whatever task is done as appertaining to one in organized society is not only noble but is tantamount to divine worship. There is no high and no low in social work and performance of duty. To look after the home is as noble as politics or engineering. The upbringing of children is at least as sacred and as valuable as the production in the heavy industries or service done in the army

or in any of the official civil departments. The family is as important as the State. As the house is built of bricks, so is the State built up of families. The brick is the thing, the house is only an arrangement of the bricks. The family unit may not in theory be incapable of being abolished, but it has not so far been anywhere abolished, and is not likely to be for some time to come. The simile of the brick and the house is good enough, but there is a further truth to be remembered: once bricks are manufactured, we need not worry further about them but go on building the house. That, however, is not the case with the family and the State. Continual attention to the family is necessary for all time. The State and its functions cannot dispense with the continued requirement of attention to the family. We have so to say to be always making the bricks even while building the house. The upbringing of children, the problems of attention, continual hourly attention, to the requirements of the family in the matter of food, clothing, and mental and physical health—these form the particular field of attention and activity for the average woman, be she educated or uneducated. Society has put the most difficult basic duties upon women who alone can bear those burdens. Man has taken the comparatively easier tasks outside the home. Putting it roughly, but fairly correctly, the family has to be looked after by the mother, while the community is attended to by the man. Who can say which is more important and which less? Is provincial autonomy more important or is central government more important? It is possible for families to exist without the State, but the State cannot exist without the family. The toil and moil

of men may appear to be very heavy and important, but it is the homecraft of women that sustains society.

If University education should equip men and women to do their respective work more efficiently and serve society better than without that education, it follows that the nature of that education should differ for boys and girls. It is on this fundamental principle that Mr. Karve founded this University and it is well that that should be borne in mind however similar the superstructure may be in certain parts.

The theory and the practice involved in the instruction of all branches of homecraft in its extended and enlightened sense are as much of science as any other sciences. Apart from the actual instruction imparted, the discipline of mind and training of the hand and of the senses are not less than what are ordinarily obtained in the study of literature, chemistry or engineering. It is wrong to imagine that we get discipline only when we go through the old-fashioned drill and not when we go through a course of homecraft or of music. The intellectual discipline that a boy gets when studying the humanities or any of the sciences as taught in the older universities, a girl will not miss in the specialized courses of the Women's University. Indeed, in my opinion, what a girl should go through in order to obtain a mother's degree, if I may so call it, is not less than but a great deal more than what a boy has to learn to get his Bachelor's degree. The special education that I believe girls should be given is something larger in scope, though perhaps less intensive at certain points, than what a university boy now gets in his college. That must be so because the mother's duties cover a wider field

generally than the father's and also because when organizing women's education we are naturally inclined to grasp the real and practical, whereas when dealing with boys' education we imitate Western patterns without caring to enquire very much about their utility or their application to Indian conditions.

Unless mothers are truly well educated, the upbringing of our children, both male and female, must suffer in the most important early stages. This must be so whatever progress be made in the organization of our schools and colleges. This is enough reason to induce us to pay much greater and more scientific attention to the education of our girls than we are doing now. Pushing girls into schools and colleges and enabling them to qualify for a degree is not enough. The education we should give to girls is one that should equip them for undertaking the duties of enlightened mothers, the task of the upbringing of children, both boys and girls, in the critical early years of their age. Separate universities for girls, therefore, is not merely a question of protecting and isolating girls from boys during a period of life full of chances for error. The intention is to impart a special kind of education and furnish those special tests which are required in view of the special duties devolving on mothers and on women leaders who are to usher in a better day for India through better-organized families.

I congratulate you recipients of degrees. Do not have any notion of inferiority. It is too late in the day for any old-style academician to argue in favour of the English medium and against instruction through the mother-tongue. Arguments confusing knowledge of English

language and literature with instruction in all subjects through the English medium are utterly fallacious. You will find that your education is in most respects superior to that received by boys of your age. Do not make the mistake of thinking that you have to apologize for the degrees you have received.

May I now tread on some delicate ground? What I have to say is important, for it concerns life in the real and concrete sense. I have strongly felt as a result of much experience, observation and reflection that woman's life finds completion only in motherhood. Not in any profession or ambition can the soul of a woman find that sense of fulfilment and that joy which nature has ordained for her in motherhood—in a child that has to be brought up to serve and attain honour and respect in society. My advice therefore is that you should all marry rather than try to find independent professions, unless indeed your special gifts urge you from within to serve society without the intermediary channel of a family. I have seen many who after vainly trying to find happiness in this profession or that finally discover the truth. The secret of married happiness does not lie merely in the choice of a husband. It consists in the art of continuous, successful daily companionship by which work, danger, care and trouble are shared and halved, and by which all joy that comes in life is paradoxically doubled by being shared. Marriage is not a relationship of master and slave. The husband should not think that his wife is his property nor the wife imagine that the husband is her slave. Do not presume loyalty of affection. You have no right to it and you cannot have it without continual vigilance. The true

character of the relationship between man and wife is that of companionship, mutual respect and consideration for each other's feelings, together with that something mysterious and extra which makes it love. The way to attain love is not by luck or chance such as we read of in books. Love comes in real life only through intelligent, vigilant and industrious attention such as we all exercise in the maintenance of friendship between two persons of the same sex, but which in the case of man and wife is further helped by a natural force of great and benevolent potency.

They say that men get on with one another easily but women do not. Is this statement true? I doubt it. Such facile observations are made without legitimate or adequate data. But even if it be true, it must be due to the comparative lack of education in school and college and in the wider school of experience that most women suffer from. Still, it is good that women remember to be charitable to women as well as to men.

It has been stated by a good authority that women generally think in terms not of abstractions, ideas, causes, creeds or theories but of concrete facts, that they think not of communities but rather of individual men and women who are born, grow up, marry, grow old and die, and that they are not generally beglamoured by figments that delude men in the shape of ambitions. Women then have a power and a growing potentiality to influence public life in a manner superior to men. We may perhaps see the end of communal isolation and the problems arising therefrom when women in India make progress.

I feel I may give expression on this occasion to the hope that a large and organized movement may grow for

inter-marriages between boys and girls of different castes or religions. All attempts to resolve differences without abolishing the source of those differences are bound to fail. Caste can be abolished only by abolishing the very basis of caste, and that can be done not by eating together or working together or playing together, but only by inter-marriage. Our laws are yet not liberal enough. They still prevent inter-marriages outside a certain limit. Certain sects have agitated and secured safeguards against the breaking of the barriers. Whatever may be their motives such restrictions are not conducive to progress. At any rate, there ought to be a residuary law by which any two persons who have lived together for a year as man and wife, and against whose desire to be man and wife there is no civic or moral objection, should be free to apply for registration of their status as lawfully married man and wife in the records of the civil authority so that their children may be legitimate and they have nothing to apologize for. Over and above the ordinary law of civil marriage which in India still operates under certain restrictions, there should be a general law enabling any two persons of any caste or creed to legitimize their connubial life. Education leads to a wider outlook, wider opportunities and a wider field of choice in the manner of life. Problems of inter-marriage become therefore matters of practical importance for educated girls. That is the reason why I have referred to the subject on this occasion.

I wish you, girls, every good luck. Be brave. Be cheerful.

VI. CALCUTTA—I *

The disturbance of the weather has added charm to the proceedings. I am pleased to see the good humour and tolerance that you are showing to Nature. If only we can maintain this good humour and this spirit of tolerance and a little capacity for suffering, we can go through a great deal. It is a great privilege for me to be associated with this extraordinarily beautiful function. It is a very high honour and one that must be treasured in memory for one's life-time. The elite of Calcutta are here. All culture is represented here. If at a University Convocation in a cultured city in a cultured Province I am a little nervous, you will forgive me. We have heard two very eloquent and informative addresses. Please do not expect any rhetoric from me, not only because it is not necessary but also because I am not capable of it.

We have met here for the academic purpose of awarding degrees to those who have finished their college careers and who are to go out as graduates, and of charging them at this ceremonial function with the duties to be performed by them hereafter. The Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh—two eminent educationists—have addressed you and it would be pedantry on my part to attempt to reinforce what they have already said. I have, however, my own duty—my own personal duty—

* Delivered at the Convocation of Calcutta University on 3rd October 1947.

to discharge. I thank you all for the extraordinary affection that has been showered on me ever since I came to Bengal. It has been an experience by itself. I am supposed to be a rather cold-blooded person, but unfortunately I know to my cost that that is not true. I wish I were cold-blooded, but I am not and therefore, I have been most deeply moved by the affection that the people of Bengal have unreservedly shown to me. I hope I shall be able to leave this Province with the feeling that I have done something in return for all the affection that has been shown to me.

Friends, we are in the midst of great trouble and the temptation is to go into that subject on every occasion. I hope, however, that I shall be able to avoid that temptation. Self-pity is not a very good thing to indulge in. Let us forget our troubles for a little while and let us remember what we have to do.

Dr. Jnan Chandra has told you that one of the most important steps which the University might take would be to form a United Bengal Economic, Social and Cultural Organization—a 'UBESCO,' as he very felicitously called it—copying the UNESCO of the United Nations. That the University of Calcutta can fulfil this function is obvious. But do not wait till an organization of that type comes into being. All of you, graduates, are today charged with the duty of maintaining the unity of culture in Bengal, if not of India. It is your duty, wherever you may be, whatever work you may be at, faithfully and sincerely to carry out this message and to function as missionaries of the UBESCO conceived by Dr. J. C. Ghosh. Do not yield to whispers of bellicosity, fear and suspicion,

but always be courageous. Have faith ever pursuing the path of goodwill, tolerance and forbearance. We can conquer all difficulties if only we try. Whether you are doctors or lawyers or school-masters or whatever else, remember that at this Convocation you are charged with the duty of carrying the message of goodwill and unity of culture and tolerance and the spirit of courage in place of the spirit of fear and suspicion. Conversation is a more effective weapon for good or evil than any number of speeches. Weigh well, therefore, every word you speak or write so as to ensure that you are never guilty of unkindness or intolerance.

Friends, the great things that this University has done have been put before you succinctly and with eloquence by the Vice-Chancellor. You belong to a great institution of which you may well be proud. The University itself is, as you must have gathered from what the Vice-Chancellor has said, passing through a crisis as a result of loss of territory following the partition of Bengal. Its empire has contracted and it faces an economic crisis. Great and good men have no doubt endowed large sums but these have been earmarked for particular purposes and cannot, therefore, be drawn upon for purposes of the day-to-day administration of the University. That is why the Vice-Chancellor is anxious. I join with him in appealing for donations and endowments, not earmarked but available for general purposes in order that the Vice-Chancellor may be enabled to carry on the work of the University efficiently and with dignity. The Government of West Bengal has the same difficulties as the University, namely, contracted territory and, therefore, reduced resources and

enlarged anxiety. But be patient and tolerant, and I am certain that the Government of West Bengal will in good time come to the assistance of the University and give it all the help it can.

I come now to the question of the medium of instruction. Friends, we have been told that the die was cast in favour of Bengali twenty-seven years ago. This decision, though taken twenty-seven years ago, has not yet fully been acted upon and English still continues to be the medium of instruction in the University. The English language sits on our thoughts even as this academic robe sits upon me. This robe may be beautiful and may sometimes protect one against the weather, but it is on the whole an inconvenience; just so, the English language may be beautiful but it sits heavily on our thoughts and does not let them grow, or move about freely.

Now, if the Vice-Chancellor will permit me, I should like to remind the graduates and the elite assembled here of the very fine argument that has been put forward by the Vice-Chancellor about the foundations of a University. He adjured us not to think architecturally in such matters. He is right. Education does not rest like a brick structure on foundations below but grows like a living tree. The University gives the lead to the High Schools and the High Schools to the Primary Schools, very much like a tree ramifying from the stem upwards to the branches. That is how living things grow and yield: the University is the stem, the High Schools the bigger branches, with the Primary Schools as their off-shoots.

This leads us to the principle that applies to the medium of instruction. If you retain English as the medium of

instruction in the University, it is next to impossible that students and teachers will reconcile themselves to non-English medium in teaching boys and girls in the High Schools. With English enthroned in the University, the High School teacher has necessarily to teach his pupils in English as ere long they will seek admission into the palace of the reigning queen. Hence it is that although a decision was taken twenty-seven years ago in favour of the territorial languages, nothing concrete has yet been achieved. It is very hard also, please remember, to change an order of things that has prevailed for long. For instance, it is not easy for members of the I.C.S. to write administrative notes in Bengali all at once. I must not, however, be understood as pleading for the 'go-slow' method of the I.C.S. I am just urging the 'go-fast' method on the Universities. I want you to adopt your mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the University of this Province. And I urge every University to adopt this formula. There are, today, about a dozen important languages in India. Larger estimates are occasionally given mainly in order to frighten us into thinking that India is a big museum. But indeed, even if India is a museum, we should retain it as a grand museum, a worthy one with all its splendour and its variety. Apart from that, the main languages we have in India are just about a dozen, namely, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Kanarese, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Assamese, Oriya, and let us add to this list English too. Each one of these dozen Indian languages is the mother-tongue of no fewer than a crore of people—some of them of many crores. In accordance with what prevails in Europe, each one of

these languages is important enough for a separate State and for a separate University. Now, therefore, each one of our great big Universities should, instead of blundering all in the same manner, recognize by agreement or by tacit consent the mother-tongue of the area as the authoritative medium of University instruction. Accordingly, Benares may have Hindi, Ahmedabad may have Gujarati, Poona may have Marathi, Osmania may have Urdu, Waltair may have Telugu, and Annamalai may have Tamil, and Bombay and Madras may continue English, if they like. English can and should be kept as a second language because of its importance in international communication. By all means give English the importance it deserves, but please do not make it the medium of all instruction.

I turn now to what Dr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh told you about the essential unity of culture. I endorse every word of what he has said. Governments may be divided but India cannot be divided; Governments may be separated but the culture of India is indivisible and cannot be artificially divided. Let all the Universities co-operate through their respective media of instruction, for one purpose, namely, to spread truth and thereby maintain the unity of culture in India. A University is not merely an organization for calling Convocations and for the manufacture of graduates. It is really the fountain-head of culture and the inspiration for all life-activities which have to be guided in a cultured and civilized manner. It was, therefore, not an accident that in the old Administration Governors were made *ex-officio* Chancellors of the various Universities in India. They knew that

administration was intimately bound up with education, and, therefore, they placed the Governor at the top of the University as Chancellor *ex-officio*.

All our present ills can be traced to the imperfect methods adopted in our education. If our boys and girls are to help our country, we must change the methods of education in the University and thereby inspire changes lower down in the educational system. Till now, education in India was just a slave's accomplishment. The education that will be imparted in India from now onwards will be for a different purpose. Your education will no longer be that of a slave or a servant; it will hereafter be directed towards equipping our boys and girls as citizens of Free India.

Our country is passing through a great ordeal and my advice to you is that wherever you go, young graduates, you must carry with you the mission of trust, goodwill and tolerance, not of communal bellicosity which is a sign of incompetence, fear and suspicion. And I have every confidence that in your own life-time you will see the fruit of your work.

VII. SANTINIKETAN*

Thank you for giving me the opportunity of participating in this picturesque function. The Chairman[1] has said some very flattering things about me. She is an old colleague of mine and a fellow-conspirator. It has been her privilege for some time past to say all these kind things of me. But it is a dangerous thing to be praised. I have seen in my experience that men are apt to believe even the most exaggerated description of themselves and that they go wrong as a consequence. Let me, therefore, warn the graduates who have received their diplomas today against this temptation.

My congratulations to the graduates who have received their degrees today. Please remember the short address that was read to you on this occasion. It is mostly taken from the old Upanishads and is the best convocation address that one can ever hope to receive in any University. Your institution is a thing of glory and is, as Dr. Holmes put it very beautifully, a lengthened shadow of Gurudev. You should assist in its becoming more and more a temple of peace and a place worthy of a synthesis of cultures by spreading all over the land the ideals and the pattern of behaviour you have imbibed in this institution. I congratulate the professors and the management

* Delivered at the Convocation Ceremony at Santiniketan on 24th December 1947.

[1] Shrimati Sarojini Naidu.

of the institution on the brave manner in which they have been carrying on their work amidst difficulties. We are passing through very difficult times. In the midst of the onslaughts of various patterns of behaviour and cultures and literatures, you have to protect Indian culture. We cannot, however, safeguard our culture by merely looking back to ancient things. We must seek the true compromise between contending patterns of culture; and the compromise should be worked out not in haste, not in a spirit of dogmatism, but slowly and truthfully. The young people that go out of this institution have that work to do. By your lives, you should keep alive the pattern of behaviour made by our Rishis.

VIII. JADAVPUR *

It is a great privilege to be present here on this occasion and to participate in a gathering in which so many young people have assembled with aspirations and hopes for the future. I congratulate the young men on the pattern of behaviour they have developed in this College.

Friends, this College has an old and great history. It was started, as mentioned by the President, in 1906 with the wave of patriotism that moved the people of India from one end to the other. It was a symbol of our protest against the foreign Government. Hereafter no such protests are necessary. That work has been done. 1921 was a year when a negative attitude was taken in India against the British Government, when non-co-operation was preached and students, lawyers and others boycotted the Government. Those were the days of agitation. Hereafter, take it from me, agitators have no place in India. In free India what is wanted is *work* and not *agitation.* Agitation of a special type is always necessary. Do not exaggerate the point I am making. Some kind of agitation is always necessary, but agitation as we understood it in 1906, in 1914, in 1920, has no meaning in free India. In the new India, we need more engineers and technicians to build up our prosperity. We want engineering and all forms of co-operation. You, young men and women, must,

* Delivered at the Convocation of Jadavpur College of Engineering and Technology on 28th December 1947.

therefore, be up and doing and work for the prosperity of our land by leading vigorous and constructive lives.

When I was called upon to address this Convocation, I went through the last Convocation address of the Calcutta University delivered by Dr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh. I was enthralled by the amount of good advice that was packed into that address. I would advise you to take up that old address and read it carefully in the spirit of assimilation and understanding. As Dr. Jnan Chandra has explained, science inspires in its votaries a respect for truth and detachment that is necessary for progress in this world. It is truth alone that can take us along the path of progress and not propaganda and slogans. The biggest ideal in the field of science is truth. Hold to this ideal. Science is not merely a collection of facts, not merely a discipline or a method, but is also a faith, a creed, namely, the creed of truth. Wherever you may serve, be truthful and loyal to your ideal.

Everybody was supremely happy and glad on the 15th August, 1947, when India became free. I was here in Calcutta on that day and I was a witness to the joy of the people on that occasion. A few months have passed by. Are we as happy now as we were on that day? Freedom is a great burden and not merely a source of joy. The Britishers in India appear to be far happier today than they were before because the burden of administration has been lifted off their shoulders. In Calcutta we are fairly happy, but in Delhi, everyone is anxious. The problems that confront our leaders in charge of the administration of India are of a magnitude and quality which we did not anticipate and for which we were not prepared.

The trials which the rulers at Delhi have to face are far too heavy. But they are facing them like brave men. They have extorted the admiration of the whole world. Yet the problems still remain unsolved. What is our duty in this context? Are we to make the burden heavier for our rulers? Let everyone of us try to make their burdens a little lighter than they are now. This is not the time for quarrel or bickering. This is not the time to evaluate how much has been the personal gain. Everyone should now turn his eyes to those who are struggling in high quarters for a solution of our problems and reduce the difficulties of our rulers as far as possible. I do not think that the average citizen of India today has any notion that he must share in the anxiety and deliberations of those who are governing India. Everybody is inclined to think that they are good men, great men, and that they will anyhow solve all our difficulties. I do not think even the autocracy of Lord Curzon was really so heavy a burden on Curzon's shoulders as the burden now resting on the shoulders of our popular leaders. It is not autocracy or tyranny and for that reason the burden of our leaders is all the greater. Therefore, citizens, whether you are employers or labourers, whether you are gazetted clerks or non-gazetted clerks, whether you are an officer, whether you are an ordinary servant, whether you are a constable, inspector or a sergeant or a litterateur—let us now all be patriotic. Let us give Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues a peaceful time at least for three years. We must have peace and order in the country so that the Government may be able to carry on without any internal anxiety. No Government in the world has so much

anxiety as the Government of India has. The care of so many millions is not a small charge and we are practically in the entanglements of a war. We do not call it war because we do not wish to make things worse. Yet so far as anxiety and mobilization of resources are concerned, it is war. We must, therefore, all of us exert ourselves to bring all these problems to a quick conclusion. Every patriotic citizen should, therefore, wholeheartedly co-operate with the Government.

I give my blessings and best wishes to the engineers who have received their degrees today.

IX. CALCUTTA—II *

I tender my warm congratulations to all the recipients of degrees, especially those who were awarded prizes and medals. I congratulate you all on having heard a brilliant address from our honoured guest and have great pleasure in tendering my own and the University's grateful thanks to him. I am glad that the University has secured for a further period of two years the energetic stewardship of Sri P. N. Banerjee as Vice-Chancellor.

Young friends, after two addresses packed with advice and words of encouragement, I feel there is no need for a third speech to be inflicted by me on you. A Chancellor's speech is, however, the established rule in the Convocations of the Calcutta University and I dare not introduce an innovation even by way of omission.

The world peace situation is deteriorating at an alarming pace. The hope of internationalists is to attain a world federation one day wherein peace and justice could be assured for all the peoples of the world, irrespective of colour or continent or type of culture. So long as this is not attained and so long as we have to rest content with a balanced system of national powers as a transitory substitute for the more stable equilibrium of a world federation, there is always a tendency for one or the other of fairly equal powers to be seized with a sudden fear as a

* Delivered at the Convocation of Calcutta University on 20th March 1948.

result of some true or imagined event. Then a strong and instant feeling possesses it that the best thing would be to precipitate the inevitable conflict before the enemy gets time to grow stronger. Such a situation seems now to have rapidly developed. I hope my apprehensions are wrong but I greatly fear war seems coming again upon the world with swift pace. What is wanted now is not the interpretation of war-preparations in terms of self-defence so as to make them acceptable to citizens who mostly love peace. Of that we have enough stereotype. What is wanted now is someone who will explain America to Russia and Russia to America, and keep off war, one who commands respect and influence and is trusted by both. So far as India is concerned, if only Pakistan and India could join hands, they could both be saved from being involved in the fresh tragedy that threatens the world. Otherwise it would be impossible to escape entanglement.

Well, Convocation addresses have become so formal and stale that they cannot be of much consequence in shaping the actual lives of the graduates to whom they are addressed by convention. Indeed it would be true to admit that no speech however good and full of convincing argument it may be, has at any time any great effect on the conduct of those to whom it is addressed. This may seem to be too cynical a statement. But I believe firmly that it is not speeches or sayings but only example that inspires and infects, for good or evil. Every nation has inherited excellent proverbs and maxims and didactic literature. Yet it may be admitted that these maxims have had little effect on men. Example and personality

stand, however, on a different footing. The undoubted influence of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda and Gandhiji is entirely due to the lives of these great men rather than to their undoubtedly wise sayings and great speeches and writings. A book admired, a speech listened to with reverence affects one momentarily, but it is only the moral and spiritual forces generated by the lives of great men lived purposefully and without blemish that change the conduct of men and women. In every age are born men who can thus influence others and it is this that sustains the progress of the world. But it would not be right to wait for the appearance of great men. All enlightened and educated men and women must take up the function of showing how to think, how to speak and how to live to the rest of our people and continually act as guardians of culture and right conduct.

Leadership of this kind is service in the best sense of the word. It is a necessity of national uplift and cultural progress that you, graduates, should set an example, each one of you, in your own lives to those illiterate and uneducated people among whom you will live and who are bound to look up to you as leaders of culture and conduct. It is well we understand the fundamental realities of things which by too much familiarity often hide their true import and meaning. University education is not just the good fortune of a lucky few. That some few men must be continually trained for leadership is an essential part of any scheme of civilized life which ensures order and progress. In some form or other among all civilized peoples and in all ages this was and is being done. Higher education is thus not an accomplishment

or a personal advantage for obtaining which you should be grateful, but it is a definite acceptance of an obligation of service by way of active leadership.

Do not depend upon propaganda to improve conditions around you but depend more upon the effect of your own daily life. Propaganda has its utility up to a point but it tends soon to become something with which we deceive ourselves and carries us no further. The main thing to attend to at the present moment in our country is to establish uprightness of conduct between man and man so that the burden of our national Government may be reduced to a minimum. Every individual having become a real shareholder in this great joint stock company that we call Free India, he should contribute his best to the joint concern. Hundred per cent honesty in all work, which dispenses with the need for supervision or inspection, a spirit of industriousness which places all talent and resources and time fully at the disposal of the community, and an equal regard for every kind of work that goes to contribute to the welfare of the community, whatever may be the kind of intellectual or physical labour it involves,—these constitute the substance of patriotic endeavour in Free India. The external struggle for freedom is over. Our effort must hereafter be directed towards maintaining moral and civic standards in daily life. You have, each one of you, in your sphere a capital opportunity that will occur on a hundred occasions for setting the right example and avoiding a wrong lead. The most serious offence against the State that one can commit in Free India without realizing it is idleness. Slack work is treason in the present state of our affairs. And all work

is equally worthy, nothing small or menial. It is all superior. What is unpleasant but necessary and carried out loyally, though disagreeable, is the noblest service to the State and is superior service whatever be its conventional classification.

Be tolerant of other's failings. I am saying this to each one of you as real practical advice and not laying down again an old copy-book maxim. Charity in judgment is a civic policy of the highest practical value. Always lay down for yourselves a more exacting standard than you would for others. The purpose of all true education is so to conduct yourself in your daily tasks as to contribute to the common good. The education that you have received has been given to you because it is expected that you will automatically become an enlightened servant of the community, tolerant, broad-minded and avoiding the errors of passion and prejudice and doing always the right thing not afraid of losing popularity. Every time you find yourself tempted to stray from the path of truth and love, remember Gandhiji, the man who was so eager to guide us and who was so full of wisdom and love and who was snatched away from us so cruelly seven weeks ago. May the blood that flowed from Gandhiji's wounds and the tears that flowed from the eyes of the women of India everywhere when they learnt of his death serve to lay the curse of 1947, and may the grisly tragedy of that year sleep in history and not colour present passions. Shall we hope that in 1950 or thereabouts we shall be able to say truthfully that all of us are more honest and less selfish in Free India than before, that the rice crop has been more abundant than in the days of the British, that the

number of acres under cultivation is greater, that there is less crime and that the behaviour of men and women in India is superior to what it is in places not blessed by Indian culture? Then indeed we can claim that we have built a worthy monument for Gandhiji. This can and must be built by you to whom the future belongs. With integrity of mind and purpose and the will to do, nothing is impossible. The work begins from today. There is to be no waiting for orders or plans. May God bless you.

X. MADRAS *

I am grateful to His Excellency the Chancellor for giving me this privilege of seeing the glad faces of the newly admitted graduates of the University and of giving them my good wishes. Dear young friends, the life-work of men of my generation has been very nearly completed. The lamp which it has pleased Providence to enable us to light will now come under your care. Protect it against the ill winds that blow against it. I value deeply the opportunity offered to me to say a few words to you today. During this initial period of independent national life, many a trite saying gets real and relevant meaning. So if I say some very ordinary and oft-repeated things, please do not think I just fill up time in a conventional way. I am a practical and serious-minded man though I like a joke as much as anyone else. I love you greatly, and what I say is an earnest appeal to you and others like you.

I can claim His Excellency the Chancellor as a friend over and above the bonds that tied us both in official tasks. I know that the people and the Government of the Province are sorry that he is leaving Madras. But it is a consolation that he as well as Lady Nye will continue to be in India in a different capacity in which too there will be many opportunities for friendly assistance on their part to those who are engaged in national work, to me

* Delivered at the Convocation of Madras University on 24th August 1948.

and others as well. Sir Archibald Nye as well as Lord Mountbatten have, during the past year when they courageously and chivalrously remained with us after the transference of power, shown a devotion to work in the cause of peace and progress in India which we Indians may well emulate. Your Chancellor will be the last Britisher to be dissociated from the conduct of civil affairs in India. His going marks a period of added responsibility on our part for wise self-governance.

The late American Ambassador's wife, Mrs. Grady, while taking the plane to join her husband some days ago, gave a farewell message, in the course of which she complimented Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and me as men who belong to the world and not only to India. Mrs. Grady was not referring to our knowledge of world-affairs for, whatever may be the case with our Prime Minister, I cannot lay claim to any special or even a passable degree of equipment in that field. Mrs. Grady was referring, I take it, to our obligations at the present juncture in the world. Not only the Prime Minister and I, but every enlightened citizen of India must now rise to the full height not only of national citizenship but of world-citizenship. The world is watching India with goodwill. Our culture, our philosophy and our outlook on life have a new meaning and a new hope for the nations that have suffered and are suffering in the West. Our struggle against British Imperialism is over and, thank God, it has not ended with a note of bitterness but in complete goodwill and mutual understanding. Being citizens of a free country, we should now realize our mission as a nation and our place in world-civilization. We must fulfil the

obligations that arise out of our place in Asia and our long and intimate connexion with the West. We cannot escape world-citizenship and the particular Dharma which must appertain to India in that regard. By thinking of the world and of man as a whole, we shall purify and strengthen ourselves even to overcome internal problems and anxieties.

Freedom has assuredly given us a new status and new opportunities. But it also implies that we should discard selfishness, laziness and all narrowness of outlook. Our state of freedom implies toil and new values for old things. We should so discipline ourselves as to be able to discharge our new responsibilities satisfactorily. If there is any one thing that needs to be stressed more than any other in the new set-up, it is that we should put into action our full capacity, each one of us, in productive effort—each one of us in his own sphere, however humble. Work, unceasing work should now be our watch-word. Work is wealth and service is happiness. Nothing else is. The greatest crime in India today is idleness. If we root out idleness, all our difficulties, including even conflicts, will gradually disappear. Whether as a constable or as a high official of the State, whether as a businessman or industrialist or artisan or farmer or peasant, each one of us is discharging his obligation to the State and making a contribution to the welfare of the country. Honest work is the sheet-anchor to which if we cling we shall be saved in spite of every danger or difficulty. Honest work is the fundamental law of progress.

Next to honest work is the habit of respecting other people's feelings. It takes all sorts to make this world and the highest virtue of every citizen is to try and conduct

himself so that a mode of life may be evolved by which people of differing religious faiths, occupations and attainments who constitute our society may live together in peace and amity. The law of love is a practical code of life as our dear departed leader so strenuously sought to teach us. My confirmed opinion is that in India there is in fact no communal hatred. Greed and fear of defeat in economic competition produce what is mistaken for communal ill-feeling. There is abundant and abiding respect for all kinds of creeds, faiths and ways of life, but selfishness and personal ambitions of a poor variety produce conditions often mistaken for communal ill-will. It is not, therefore, a hopeless task to restore and maintain communal amity and goodwill all round.

Unfortunately certain events have led to the atmosphere being full of alarm and expectation of conflict. We do not desire conflict. Perhaps we may not be able to avoid it. All the same, we must do our best to prevent what is admittedly bad for everybody concerned and for the nation. In any case, to be calm is the best preparation to face any difficulty. Excitement is the contrary of preparedness. I am convinced that there is really no hatred between Hindus and Muslims or between any other communities. There is neither hatred nor conflict of interests. There is misunderstanding, pride and consequent stupidity. The long-drawn-out controversies of the recent past cannot be put aside all at once. Hence all these misunderstandings, this pride and this stupidity. But basically there is, among widely differing creeds and races, far greater understanding of the fundamentals of human fellowship in India than probably anywhere else.

This being so, my hope is not ill-founded that India will lead the way in demonstrating harmony in diversity and furnishing a striking example in human co-operation in the midst of seeming heterogeneity. Whatever may be the immediate troubles, I have no doubt that you who have now graduated will, in your life-time, see a happy India free from ill-will, strenuously engaged in reconstruction. There is no need to despair, whatever be the colour of things at present.

To manage the affairs of an independent State, trained leadership is necessary. You have had training in that direction in some measure, for University education is nothing but a training for leadership. Numberless citizens are denied this privilege and it therefore becomes your sacred duty to regard your good fortune as a precious debt. In your daily conduct, in whatever walk of life you may be and under all conditions, you should remember your obligation of leadership and set an example to others how to think and speak and how to act. The physical defence of a State is the special responsibility of the members of the Armed Forces. You are the moral and cultural army of India. Her progressive culture and contribution to world-civilization should be your concern. That the youth of today are the citizens of tomorrow is a trite statement. But in a land that has just attained political freedom and whose citizens have to shoulder new responsibilities in every field of national activity, you young graduates should see in that oft-repeated statement a vital and most significant reality that concerns you intimately.

We have gone through a long and intense political struggle which involved great and unprecedented sacrifices.

Many of us are engaged now in cashing our cheques on the bank of sacrifice with a feeling of self-righteous anger when delayed at the counter or asked to stand in a queue. All this is natural and it would be wrong to have expected that anything else could happen. Sacrifice had been sustained unbroken through two generations and it would be idle to expect those who suffered to stand down in self-abnegation when the illusions of power and position tempt. Admitting all this, enlightened men and women should ask themselves the question: What is patriotism now?

Graduates, on this great occasion in your life when you must be overflowing with a sense of achievement and a degree of pride, an older person may offer a few words to you on our immediate future. Independence is a goal for which we worked and struggled for several years. But we must now overcome the habit of mental resistance and opposition which was our pattern of behaviour until now. We must forget all the disappointments and frustrations we have suffered. We must turn all our experiences now to positive ends.

The years immediately ahead when our freedom has to be consolidated must be years of strenuous work. We cannot take out of life more than what we put into it ourselves. The new opportunities that present themselves in our country may seem to be opportunities for individual advancement but they are also, and perhaps more truly, opportunities for service to the country as a whole.

What is wanted is not competitive ambition but intense co-operation. The furtherance of the welfare of the people as a whole in constructive channels is the warp and

woof of patriotism now. Melodramatic reiteration of past struggles and dwelling on episodes of suffering may feed our pride in a way but it is wholly irrelevant and is therefore a waste of energy in the present context when what is wanted is speedy realization of civic duty and energetic positive effort in reconstruction.

A teacher from Kerala wrote to me a few days back suggesting that I should clarify some points in the course of this my address to you. He asked me in his letter—(1) Should teachers and students be encouraged to take up active politics apart from academic studies? My answer has always been and I repeat it now, *No*! Active party politics is inconsistent with fruitful student-life. (2) Should our schools and colleges be scenes of political battles and party squabbles? My answer is an emphatic *No*! (3) Should strikes and satyagraha be recognized and encouraged in schools? My answer is again in the negative.

This takes me to my intention to share with the experienced educationists assembled here a few thoughts on education. There is a tendency in progressive political circles as well as among educationists to seek to make anything that is good and useful a compulsory part of youth's educational course. I should like to express on this occasion my doubts in respect of the wisdom of this tendency. The idea that education should cover all useful fields of equipment is futile and erroneous. The limitations of time and immaturity should be kept in mind, and more time should be spent on evolving the capacity to acquire knowledge and to think aright than on substantial equipment straightway. The pressure of too many subjects is not a good thing for the young brain. On the

other hand, it is only when the brain is young that the capacity to think aright can be developed and correct methods of work can be implanted. To give an example, I would point out that history cannot be understood by boys and girls who have not seen or experienced much of life and its problems. The brain is a machine which should be properly assembled and adjusted during youth. Once this is done, it will take care of itself and there is plenty of time for acquiring information in all branches. The stress during youth should be on training, on creating a habit of correct observation, of scientific curiosity, and of thinking aright and not on cramming the brain with information. The aim of education is that the pupil should acquire an automatic appreciation of values, moral and other. We do not desire to produce indoctrinated minds. That is not the democratic ideal. Totalitarians might wish to give a twist when the mind is young in a planned direction but our aim should be to produce a free and faithful intellectual and moral apparatus rather than give pre-planned twists.

Again, it should be remembered that what is made compulsory automatically induces a distaste. If you wish boys and girls to develop a permanent and unreasonable dislike of anything, make that subject a compulsory subject. If you wish that they may develop a willingness and a capacity to appreciate good literature such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, or Shakespeare, or the Bible, for God's sake, I would say to the educationists, do not make the study of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata or of Shakespeare or the Bible compulsory in the school. The lessons of both child psychology and human

psychology are that mandatory and compulsory direction produces a contrary and rebellious tendency. The conditions for assimilation should be produced, and there should be no compulsion. Youth should be helped to choose good things for themselves rather than be forced and drilled.

Therefore I would suggest to educationists that less stress should be laid on examinations and more on opportunities for study and assimilation. The examination is the most bitter part of compulsion. It creates an incurable tendency towards superficiality and a paradoxical condition wherein a certain degree of equipment and dislike go together. It leaves in the successful candidate a distaste for further advance, once the examination is over. If in any field the standard of attainment is better in foreign universities than in India, it is not due to stiffer examinations or to superior talents. It is the result of greater voluntary exertion on the part of teachers and pupils born of love of the thing itself, and better facilities for study and research rather than of any stricter or better system of examinations and rejections. It is the result of a condition of things in which aptitude for and love of subject rather than irrelevant ambitions and prospects of career and employment guide the students in their choice of studies.

There are two problems which are the cause of great worry to our educationists, the problem of religious and moral instruction in a land of many faiths and the problem arising out of multiplicity of languages. Taking up the education of children, we see that they should be trained to love one another, to be kindly and helpful to all, to be tender to the lower animals and to observe and

think aright. The task of teaching them how to read and write and to count and calculate is important, but it should not make us lose sight of the primary aim of moulding personality in the right way. For this it is necessary to call into aid culture, tradition and religion. But in our country we have to look after, in the same school, boys and girls born in different faiths and who belong to families that live diverse ways of life and observe forms of worship associated with different denominations of religion. It will not do to take the easy path of evading the challenge by attending solely to physical culture and intellectual education. We have to evolve a suitable technique and method for serving the spiritual needs of children through many religions in the same school. We would thereby cultivate an atmosphere of mutual respect, a fuller understanding and helpful co-operation among all the different communities in our society. India is not like other smaller countries which have a single language and a single faith. We have a multiplicity of languages and faiths but are yet one and must remain one people. We have therefore to give basic training in our schools to speak and understand many languages and to understand and respect the different religions prevailing in India. It is not right for us in India to be dissuaded from this on account of considerations of over-taxing the young mind. What is necessary must be done. And it is not in fact too great a burden.

Any attempt to do away with or steam-roller the differences through governmental coercion and indirect pressure would be as futile as it would be unwise. Any imposition of a single way of life and form of worship on all children, or neglect of a section of the pupils in this respect, or

barren secularization will lead to a conflict between school and home life in the pupils concerned, which is harmful. On the other hand, if we give due recognition to the several prevailing faiths in the educational institutions and organize suitable facilities for boys and girls of all faiths, it may itself serve as a broadening influence of great national value.

As for language, it is no good trying to impose a medium of instruction on young pupils which is not their mother-tongue. In the past, parents preferred their children to undergo the disadvantages of the English medium because, as against the drawbacks of a foreign medium, the advantages in life of superficially anglicized culture were great. They deliberately allowed their children to learn language through subjects rather than subjects through language, because facility in the use of the English language helped one very largely and covered many defects. These advantages must now soon disappear and the drawbacks in using a foreign medium will be more and more obvious as we go on. Nothing is gained by depriving young boys and girls of the advantage of the mother-tongue or some language near to it. In regions where more than one language is spoken I see no way but one, namely, to form sections in the mixed schools according to language. For certain purposes they may sit together so that the advantages of both mixing and separate attention may be retained. Provided we solve the problems with understanding and patience, the very difficulties which we first deplore often prove in the end to be of the greatest value for progress. What was pain and trouble becomes a source of enlightenment and joy.

I am grateful to the Chancellor and the Fellows of the University for conferring on me the highest honour in their gift. I hope I shall ever remain worthy of the degree conferred on me today by being in all matters true to the spirit of law, which is higher than the codes that embody it in various aspects. By accepting this degree, I have, so to say, gone through a ceremony of closer identification with the young friends who have received degrees at this Convocation.

Graduates, I congratulate you on your having taken your degrees. I have told you enough about the sacred duties that fall on you by reason of these degrees. Let your minds be responsible and affectionate. These are the two qualities that best adorn citizenship. Daily and earnest prayer and honest effort will enable one to acquire these two great qualities, a sense of responsibility and an affectionate temperament. If our youth attain these qualities, India will be happy and great. External courtesies will help the growth of corresponding internal feeling. Restraint in behaviour and consideration for the feelings of others are what distinguish a man of culture. Be patient and kind always. Do not give way to jealousy or the desire to boast. Be not rude. Do not always insist on your own way. Do not allow yourself to be irritated or be resentful. Do not rejoice at wrong. Rejoice in the right. Try to bear misfortunes bravely. Show trust in others and have faith that love will prevail. This is what Paul said. This is what Gandhi said. May God bless you.

XI. BENARES*

First of all I must thank the University for the high honour they have bestowed upon me in token of such appreciation as they have been pleased to show of my services. I hope I shall prove not unworthy of the honour bestowed. As I received the honorary degree, the figure of our beloved Malaviyaji was before my mind's eye with the *chandan* on his forehead like the third eye of Sri Mahadev. I hope that with his blessings I shall prove, as I said, not unworthy of the honour bestowed on me.

I have been asked to speak a few words to the graduates. After the exhortation which the Vice-Chancellor made uttering the very words of the old Rishis, nothing remains to be said provided the Rishis' words are understood and assimilated. But it has been customary to invite someone to speak to the graduates on an occasion such as this. The honour bestowed on me is great, but I do not think I shall trouble you with any long address today.

I do not propose to deal with matters usually dealt with at length in Convocation addresses. My visit, dear graduates, has come close upon that of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He covered very extensive ground in his address when he was here and spoke frankly and impressively. I do not believe it will benefit anyone if I cover the same

*Delivered at the Hindu University, Banaras, on 2nd December 1948.

ground again. I need not repeat his earnest advice for he spoke out of his heart. He is a great man and is entitled by his service to expect you to pay heed to all that he told you. If you do so, it will be all for the good of the country.

Our beloved Malaviyaji built with his own hand and left behind him this great University, as a solid and useful memorial of which his people may justly be proud. This University may be called by any name, but it will always be associated with the memory of this great man who built it through untiring effort and force of character. Kasi is a great place. Ganga is a great river brought down from heaven itself, and this place of instruction for youth situated on sacred ground and on the banks of the sacred river should be the subject of special care and concern of all of us but mainly of the boys and girls of India. It belongs to them. It belongs to *all* of them. It is a national seat of culture in the truest sense. From time immemorial people turned to Kasi for enlightenment and to Ganga for purification, and Malaviyaji has helped to maintain unbroken that tradition by founding and establishing this great seat of learning here in Kasi. Let us in the years to come strive to keep the greatness of the Kasi University undiminished in lustre.

Graduates, Kipling wrote some great verses, but a little poem which he wrote with an 'if' before the lines is one of the finest things ever written. It is English Poetry born out of the Song Celestial of India.

> "If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you
> But make allowance for their doubting too:

If being hated you do not give way to hating
And yet, do not look too good nor talk too wise:
If you can meet with triumph and disaster
And treat those two impostors just the same:
If you can talk to crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with kings, nor lose the common touch:
If all men count with you but none too much:
If you can fill the unforgiving minute with sixty
seconds worth of distance run:
Yours is the earth
And what is more you will be a man, my son!"

I have not given the words exactly, but sons and daughters of Kasi, remember the substance of these lines which is the same as what was said in Sanskrit as the word of God centuries ago by Vyas.

We have done well in attaining freedom and in showing a bloodless way of overcoming wrong. Yet let me touch on some unpleasant things. The processes involved in the attainment of freedom through the method of disobedience have left behind certain less desirable results along with the attainment of the object. These results, like the incidental harm done to the body when you take drugs for curing a serious disease, have to be corrected by convalescent discipline, by effort and determination amounting to religious fervour and faith.

We have to throw off the habit of disregarding law and authority. The movement of non-co-operation involved the disregarding of law and authority that had been imposed by a foreign government and it has left behind an unhealthy habit. We have to take concerted and

determined action to get rid of this tendency. We must restore the unqualified reverence for the State that our ancients cultivated, reverence for law and discipline equivalent to the reverence for dharma that was insisted upon in the old days. In fact we want a revival of feudal manners and chivalry but in terms of modern democracy. Reverence for the State is different from attachment to a party. It is more akin to worship than to party loyalty. The State is different from the majority that rules. Reverence for the State is essential. Otherwise India, vast and composed of heterogeneous elements, cannot grow strong.

Again, as a result of what was done during the days when we applied every means that was available in order to get rid of foreign domination, some of us have developed, I fear, a very undesirable and wide-spread tendency of sabotage. Free and democratic India cannot function in security and prosper and attain strength unless we totally eradicate this tendency to resort to methods of sabotage for attaining some immediate object. Short-sighted hurry to attain an objective, however good, may lead to great harm being done to the State and society as a whole. It is absolutely necessary to eradicate the habit of destruction and sabotage that were incidental to the revolution. We should revive a reverence—I cannot use a lesser word—a reverence for roads, for bridges, for all means of communication, for the machinery of production, industrial and agricultural. We should automatically and instinctively feel a horror of sabotage as we do when we see any living thing being cruelly killed. Otherwise modern society cannot hope to thrive. Respect for

means of communication and means of production must reach the level of religious reverence. We have to rebuild this reverence.

Again, as a result of what happened during the struggle and thereafter, we are in danger of maintaining, unless we guard ourselves, a frame of mind and an attitude akin to ill-will against nations other than ourselves and communities other than our own. We have to make a supreme religious effort to maintain and strengthen what Gandhiji taught, namely, the doctrine of unilateral effort in the faith that love will conquer. Being hated do not give way to hating, as Kipling said. This great doctrine of love and trust even where you do not get favourable response at once, is the pivot on which all that Gandhiji taught rested. That was the fixed doctrine round which all his great activities turned. If we have no faith in this doctrine of unilateral effort for love, we forswear all the homage we paid to Gandhiji when he was alive.

Do not be alarmed by delays and failures in our national effort. We have not had sufficient time yet. We had to face complicated, unexpected and extraordinary difficulties. Remember that freedom from British rule does not mean freedom from world-opinion. Equal citizenship in the world is a great status. But it carries with it great obligations. The national government of India today is of a quality of which we can be proud. Our Prime Minister's credit among the nations and statesmen of the world is very high. To maintain that high credit and to draw from it, we have to be loyal and helpful to him. Our Prime Minister is the beloved of the nation. He and his colleagues have been trying scrupulously to

be just and fair to everyone, to governments and to communities, to industrialists and to workers. No people have a clearer conscience than those at the head of the Government of India today. They are just and they have faith in the destiny of India and are working hard. As I have said elsewhere, industrialists should adjust their minds to the necessary uncertainties of democratic government. They must not expect in democracy that certainty of policy which can be got only under an authoritarian government. Policies in democracy depend upon the people's vote which must be taken from time to time and cannot be made the subject of any permanent proposition. Workers must realize that the State is the real employer whatever be the economic set-up in force. Unless wealth is produced, and continuously produced, no government, no management, no employer can find the resources for distributing the means of securing a good life. Wealth and work form the foundation on which the happiness of the community can be built.

We should trust democracy to ensure just distribution and not look to class struggle for salvation. Class struggle means hatred and fouling of the atmosphere and unhappiness for all and submission to the crudest type of tyranny at the end of it. The delays of democracy are after all better than the violence and hatred of class struggle, better for all concerned. There are no doubt class struggles going on, whether we like it or not. Where there is maladjustment, a fever is a necessary concomitant. But we gain nothing by encouraging or adding to the fever that accompanies a diseased condition. We should rather allay the fever even while attending to the root cause.

That is the democratic method as distinguished from the method of accelerating class struggle and endangering national life.

Our credit as well as our prestige abroad is high and so is our position in the comity of nations. It is only among ourselves that readjustment is necessary for confidence and co-operation. Let us have faith in our destiny under democracy. All will soon be well. Graduates, I give you my best wishes, my own as well as on behalf of the Government of India. May you be enabled to serve the Motherland diligently and with reverence.

XII. ALIGARH*

I thank you for your words of welcome. I thank you for the great honour you have done me by conferring on me the highest gift in your possession.

You have rightly reminded yourselves and the scholars of the University of the share of responsibility that rests on this University for moulding the ideas and shaping the personalities of the citizens of India.

My government and I will do everything in our power to enable you to perform your functions in a worthy manner. There is no doubt that this University has a very particular and important role to play in the advancement of culture and education in India.

The Aligarh University was born out of the movement which had as its object the turning of the mind of Islam in India towards modern light and culture. You have quoted the words of the founders wherein the hope was expressed that the sons of Aligarh might go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free inquiry, large-hearted tolerance and of pure morality. There can be no better platform for united endeavour on the part of all citizens in India than the platform of free inquiry and large-hearted mutual understanding and uprightness of conduct.

*Delivered at the Special Convocation of Aligarh University on 15th December 1948.

The first graduate of the College was a Hindu. From its very start the Aligarh College was open to all classes and creeds. This is a fact which cannot be too often repeated and which should be kept continually before friends as well as detractors.

I welcome your impatience for development. It has become difficult to get money allotted by the Government of India even for the best of causes on account of a number of unavoidable circumstances, but a great deal can be done by men moved by earnestness of purpose, much more than is often imagined. In spite of financial difficulties you will, I am sure, achieve a great deal in the immediate future.

I am glad to see that in your address you have shown commendable awareness of all difficulties. No one is more conscious than myself that the living sources of culture and enlightenment such as Universities are, form a very important and essential part of the mechanism of democracy. Power from below and inspiration from above are essential for the growing plant of democracy even as good soil and bright sunlight are needed for plants to grow well. We have seen enough already to warn us of the dangers arising out of a deterioration of man's sense of moral and spiritual values. Nowhere can a sense of values be conserved and promoted in modern times except in Universities. I thoroughly agree with you that Islam which it is your particular privilege to represent or the Vedanta which it is the privilege of Banaras particularly to represent will not be a disabling factor but a perennial source of inspiration in maintaining true values in human endeavour as well as in broadening vision. I go so far in

my faith as to believe that each faith will help to glorify the other even as the colours of the spectrum glorify the beauty of each tint in the band.

The retirement of my old friend and colleague Nawab Ismail Khan and the undertaking of the responsibility as Vice-Chancellor by Dr. Zakir Hussain should not be understood or interpreted as any kind of political or other challenge. I can never forget how helpful Nawab Ismail Khan was at a Unity Conference that was held in Allahabad fifteen years ago and at which I played some part along with him. Dr. Zakir Hussain's arrival at Aligarh is a re-union. In 1920 the Khilafat movement joined the Swaraj stream as the Yamuna joins the Ganga and my dear old colleagues Maulana Mohamed Ali and Big Brother Shaukat Ali whose memory recalls unforgettable friendship and undying glory of vigorous action, disturbed the calm of Aligarh and raised the old old issue of conservation versus revolution. "Let us conserve," said the older authorities. "We shall die if we do not move," said resurgent patriotism. There was a parting of the ways then. Now there is a re-union, and the Jamia Millia has through Dr. Zakir Hussain's Vice-Chancellorship rejoined Aligarh.

May the Aligarh University receive the blessings of God along with every assistance from the people and Government of India.

XIII. ALIGARH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' UNION *

It gave me great pleasure to hear sincere thoughts expressed in such apposite eloquent language on this occasion. You will forgive me if I confess that I did not expect such beautiful language. The perfection of style in a foreign language shown by your President surprised me. The pledges to which he gave expression are however much more important than the language in which he clothed his thoughts. They will give great satisfaction and joy to all my colleagues in the Government of India. After getting these pledges, I have no hesitation in unveiling the picture which he asked me to unveil.

I have always felt great hesitation whenever I have been asked to unveil a picture of Gandhiji. If the likeness is close to the original, the greater is the grief that it gives one on looking at the picture. If the likeness is bad, the grief is there in equal measure. I do not like a bad picture of a very good man. I do not know what you think of the present picture. I think it is a good piece of work and I congratulate the artist who has done it.

You asked me to sign my name in your book and you showed me Gandhiji's signature on its first page. That was a great joy to me. When I thought of the words you uttered, promising the nation and the Government your

* Delivered at the Aligarh University Students' Union on 15th December 1948.

loyal and devoted service, I felt it was a truly good thing to have been asked to unveil the picture of Gandhiji as a token of acceptance of the promise. Remember, friends, the solemnity of this gesture on your part as well as on mine. The Union has promised on behalf of the University something serious and far-reaching. I have accepted it as Governor-General and Gandhiji has witnessed it in the picture that you have asked me to unveil. It is a completed covenant according to all ideas of jurisprudence, morality and patriotism.

I must congratulate you on having got my old friend Dr. Zakir Hussain as Vice-Chancellor and guide, philosopher and friend of this University. It is not easy to secure one of his stature as Vice-Chancellor for a university. You have in him one who is respected by all in India, irrespective of caste, creed or class. I very much doubted whether he would give up the Jamia Millia which he nursed with so much affection all these years and come here. Some people welcome a big and new responsibility. But some are so much attached to the work that they have been doing, irrespective of public praise or blame, that they hesitate to give it up and go to what may be considered a more eminent position. Dr. Zakir Hussain belongs to the latter class. I therefore felt doubtful whether he would agree to become your Vice-Chancellor. Then I remembered the connexion between the Jamia Millia and the Aligarh University. It is more like a son-in-law being asked to go and take charge of the mother-in-law's or father-in-law's house. The Jamia Millia was born in pain. But the Jamia Millia does not for that reason cease to be the child of the mother. Therefore when Dr. Zakir

Hussain was asked whether he would go to the mother-in-law's place or father-in-law's place, I could see that he agreed with a whole heart because he keeps the Jamia Millia in one pocket and Aligarh in another. Do not however go away with the impression that personalities and events like this themselves make for great changes. His coming is an indication of what has happened in India and therefore it was inevitable he should come here. He could not resist it and it was not possible to make any other proposal. That is why he is here with you.

You, members of this Union, are in a way leaders of the student community in Aligarh and probably of the entire Muslim student body in India. Your Union in its opinions will give a lead to Muslim students all over India. I want you therefore to make the best of this good luck of yours. I hope and pray that you, members of the Aligarh University Union, will make the utmost of Dr. Zakir Hussain's presence here. I know that you love him and respect him and that you have confidence in him from all that I have seen since this morning. That emboldens me to make this appeal to you. A man who trusts in God, who is honest, pious and also considerate and not hasty, is eminently fitted to be your guide in the present critical conditions in our country.

This morning the Doctorate of Law was conferred upon me. If I were asked to answer an examination before qualifying for the degree, the examiners would not have let me off. The University has taken other data to come to the conclusion that I should be the recipient of that degree. But degrees such as have been conferred upon me are of no great use. The degrees you are

working for are of great use. Do not go away with the impression that examinations are of no use and that something else is important. Whatever may have been the case till now, I want you to think differently henceforth. The patriotism with which you have been familiar up till now is a closed chapter. Hereafter your patriotism is of a new colour. It consists in disinterested joyful service to the State. You must serve faithfully and diligently and you must find joy in service itself. This requires great and careful preparation in the time of youth, and the universities are intended to give that preparation. The slogan is no longer as in 1920, "Give up colleges." The slogan now is, "Hold on to the colleges, go to the colleges and do your college work properly." I have said this times without number and I want to put it to you in this form. The Government, the Governor-General, the leaders of the people who are in charge of the Government—all of them want you to study carefully and diligently without losing time and equip yourselves properly because we are lacking a great deal in the right type of manpower in this country, and you are preparing yourselves to shoulder the burden of the whole State along with others. You will therefore have to give up all ideas of strikes so far as educational institutions are concerned. Ask any doctor whether in getting something done, like tying up the artery or tying up a vein or a nerve to perform some operation, the heart can be stopped. No. Whatever else you may do, you cannot give a holiday to the heart. So is the education of youth. It cannot be suspended in a living organization. Along with the promises you have made to your President, I want you

silently to promise me that you will never be guilty of indiscipline or of doing anything against the orders of the Vice-Chancellor or any professors or authorities of the University. This is now a free country with a free government to judge things and there is no reason for students to become judges. If you accept the principle of division between the executive and the judiciary, you must accept the principle of division between youth engaged in studies and the judiciary. You must not become judges.

The discipline that I have so far seen in the course of the day gives me every confidence that there was no need for me to take up so much of your time over this matter. We have two great free countries now. We have our own India here and we have Pakistan beyond the wall. The whole world is looking on with great expectations. There is a great future before us. The present troubles which are upsetting people's minds will soon be over. There is no conflict between the two countries. Take it for granted. I am supposed to be a wise man and I tell you with all the earnestness at my command, there is no conflict of interest between Pakistan and India. We are both destined to be great and to help one another. Whether it be politics, economics, literature, morality, religion or any other matter, we two, helping one another, will give something important and valuable to the rest of the world. You here in this University should make it your sacred duty to keep this in your minds. You are, so to say, crusaders for the cause of unity between the two States, of unity between the two faiths, and unity all round in India. This responsibility lies on you in a very particular manner. I hope you will remember it in all your studies.

We have a record in the Upanishads of a valedictory exhortation given to students after the completion of their studies. The substance of that address holds good for the present times and for students like you as well as it did at the time of the Upanishads. The sonorous Sanskrit words can be rendered thus in simple English:

"Speak what is true, fulfil your duties;
Continue your studies.
Now that you have come to the end of your stay with your teachers and will marry and bring forth progeny,
Do not swerve from truth and Dharma.
Always do something useful in the social economy.

Do not fail to refresh your memory in respect of what you have learnt. Do not give up the desire to achieve.
Remember God, revere your ancestors, revere your mothers and your fathers,
Honour your teachers, honour your guests.
Ever exercise your understanding and distinguish the good from the bad.
Avoid evil and always do what is right.

Follow all that was good in your teacher's life, not any other.
You will meet with better men than the teachers you have lived with,
Show them due respect.

If your mind is troubled with any doubt, follow the example of pious elders, who are not ungentle, whom you may find in your neighbourhood in regard to those matters.

This is the rule and this is the teaching."

This closes the message I wished to quote for you. This exhortation is repeated in the Banaras University at the time of every Convocation in the original Sanskrit.

Students of Aligarh, I know that in spite of what your President has said with so much fervour, there is a considerable amount of doubt in the minds of many people now. I want you to be brave and not downhearted for anything that has happened. It is my privilege to claim your confidence and to believe that you will not misunderstand me even if on the surface what I say may seem unpleasant.

You know, without my having to explain it, that many things have happened in the country which were as unexpected as they were unfortunate. They have left results in the psychology of men and women which must be faced. It is the privilege of cultured Muslims in India to remove this feeling as speedily as possible, but steadily and with patience. We have to bear and forbear. Misunderstandings and suspicion should not make us bitter. I have no doubt that with restraint and patience Muslims in India will see a time arrive when the present difficulties will be recalled with amusement even as differences between the English and Scottish people are now recalled in British social life.

Whether we believe in the Law of Karma as a part of our religion or not, it is absolutely true that we have in

this world painfully to work out the results of what has been done by us or by others around us. We cannot get over results by arguments but can do so only by courage and good conduct in the face of every discouragement. I have a right to make an appeal to you. You must believe it of me that enlightened leadership in India will not fail you.

Islam was associated with the highest advancement of Science in Europe. Muslim Universities and Muslim Doctors of Science saved Science when otherwise Europe would have completely lost what had been gained for humanity by the Greeks. The Muslims added a vast amount of new knowledge on the firm basis of investigation and observation. If Islam did not hinder but helped the progress of Science in Europe, may it be a bright token to you for endeavour in India. Indeed no religion correctly understood, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism or other, ever hindered. Every religion always helped the progress of humanity.

It is the duty of University men to work for and spread a true understanding of all religions. The pious in all religions are one brotherhood.

I appeal to you to work for love and brotherhood in India.

XIV. DELHI*

I am grateful to the Vice-Chancellor for having relieved me of the heavier part of today's proceedings. The University is grateful to Sir Maurice Gwyer for having undertaken the responsibility for another term of office as its academic and executive head. It is our good fortune that a man of his eminence has made himself available for such service in this important and growing University. It is not everyone of his years who will voluntarily choose to work hard after having already achieved what would have served as quite enough laurels to rest on. Where in accordance with democratic ideas we have adopted the procedure of election for filling positions requiring expert qualifications, to which appointments were made in the old days by authority, it is necessary to create an atmosphere which would attract the offer of such services by the most capable and high minded among us. We have seen how those who are best qualified to serve in civic administration stand aside disliking the vexations attendant on election procedure and leaving third- and fourth-rate men to manage the affairs of local bodies as best they can. The same fate should not be allowed to overtake our universities. I hope that these remarks of mine which deal with a matter of very great and growing importance in many of our affairs will be understood in the spirit in which I have uttered them.

* Delivered at the Convocation of Delhi University on 15th January 1949.

I remember what a great and exciting occasion it was to me when as a young man I received my degree as a Bachelor of Arts in 1897. In spite of the many changes that have come about in life in general and in India in particular, I do not believe young men receiving degrees today are less excited about it than young men were in those days over fifty years ago. Aspiration and hope and the generous impulses of youth are just the same now as then. I can guess how your young minds are all charged with noble ambition and hope. May God bless you and give you every chance. Remember that the battle is the glory and results do not count. I do not repeat empty words. I speak as a man who has gone through many trials, defeats as well as successes, and I assure you that results really do not matter and that it is the way in which you struggle that matters. God has manifestly given us all in India a chance and we should prove how good we are capable of being. We are children of noble ancestors and there is a great deal in heredity. India has come into its own at a rather bad time in the history of world morality. Had we eliminated foreign care-taking some twenty-five years ago we should have fared much better. But we cannot get everything done just as we would like it and we must make the best of it now. Our freedom has been born when the world has in many respects greatly deteriorated, and this is a great handicap for us who have to start now.

At no time was there in our country such serious heart-searching as at the present moment agitates all circles, high and low, as to the need for reinforcing the sense of values, moral and spiritual. Never was it more acutely

realized that no effort to improve conditions through laws or through administrative direction can bear fruit unless the moral sense of the intelligentsia is quickened.

Precepts lose all meaning if repeated too often. The statements of leaders and their appeals from public platforms are just diagnosis and do not act as remedies for the sickness diagnosed. We have, it is perfectly clear, to make the quickening of the moral sense a definite part of the educational system even though it may seem to be a slow approach to the problem. And this, not by including in the curricula of schools and colleges lectures and studies on the subject of morality but by organizing such activities and such discipline as will infuse in the minds of our young men and women a reverence for truth and good and an automatic revulsion from falsehood and evil. An ounce of practice is worth a pound of theory. It follows that in schools and colleges we should have men and women whose daily lives inspire and infuse enlightened thought and action in the impressionable minds of the boys and girls brought into contact with them. As much care and caution should be taken over the habits of thought and action of the persons recruited for holding teachers' and tutors' posts and other positions of authority in educational institutions as over their expert qualifications in the realm of knowledge.

The part played by personal contact is great for good or evil. We are imitative by nature. Not only in the early and impressionable years but throughout life, we automatically copy the ways of those we admire. Therefore a great deal of improvement is possible if responsibility for moulding character and behaviour all round is

definitely undertaken by those who are placed in positions of authority and influence. This is the only way and not any set instruction.

In the old days a sense of values was automatically conserved by wide-spread beliefs that may be described succinctly by the term 'Religion'. But in modern times when so much has been irretrievably done rightly or wrongly to undo the work of past ages in the matter of religion, we have to find new instruments for shaping the minds of men and women so that they may develop attitudes that enable them to live and act for the greatest benefit of one another. The grand secret of social happiness lies in the cultivation of sympathy and unselfishness as an automatic reaction and attitude on the part of men and women on all occasions. We should all acquire the habit of abhorring unsocial behaviour. Lying, stealing, cruelty, indulgence in animal appetites, should become as disgusting as filth or unclean food. The need for cleanliness of mind is as great as, if not greater than, physical sanitation; and we must aim at spreading this habit of cleanliness of mind as a part of enlightened statecraft, as essential as physical public hygiene which is the concern of Health Ministries.

Bureaucratic rule under a foreign power having been liquidated, we have now each to find and fulfil our own responsibility in everything. The need for dynamic patriotism is not over with the attainment of national freedom. But dynamic patriotism no longer consists in irrelevant adherence to past dislikes and inhibitions but in the crusading spirit of purging out selfishness, and in making men and women constantly keep before their

minds the welfare of the State as till recently they kept the elimination of foreign rule.

Citizenship is not merely a right arising out of birth and domicile. It is a culture developed by training and right emotional direction. Without it, freedom and democracy would be chaos. What I call the culture of citizenship is not to be confounded with nationalism. It is a pattern of individual conduct which alone can help democracy to produce social happiness.

We have eliminated foreign rule but that does not mean we should let the respect for law grow less or the authority of governments and courts be reduced. It does not mean a reversal of all the good things that have been built during the period of foreign rule. What has been found useful and built into national life should be conserved. Nine-tenths of the technique of progress is conservation of what has been found good on trial. More than anything else, patriotism as well as education must most seriously concentrate on restoration of a sense of values and the development of a habitual attitude of sympathy and unselfishness. If this work is steadily and faithfully done for some time, there will be a marvellous change in the face of things and there will be joy instead of anger in the minds of men, and work instead of despair and helpfulness instead of fault-finding. Nowhere in the world does evil continue except for a while. Good sense asserts itself after some time and good replaces evil. This will happen also in our country. So, my young friends, be confident, trust in God and be brave. Work towards the establishment of the culture of citizenship which will

operate as an inner law making people think and act rightly without any external sanction.

My best wishes to you all once again. Delhi is a noble and historic place, one of the great places of the world. Your University has the honour of being housed and looked after in the Metropolis of India where the relics of past greatness are all about you and you live in daily contact with the central springs of future greatness. Be worthy of Delhi.

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